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Civic Life of India

BY

M. B. L. BHARGAVA

Edited, Revised and Enlarged with
the addition of a New Chapter

BY

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

I.

Since the first publication of this book in 1936, much water has run down the Ganges bridge. The civic life of the Indian people has undergone such vast changes that in order to be useful the book required a comprehensive revision. To this task I found myself unable owing to the poor state of my health. I had, therefore, given up the idea of bringing out a second edition. But several eminent teachers of Civics both in these provinces and in Rajputana pressed me for a second edition as in their opinion this is the most suitable book on the subject. One of them went so far as to say that "it is such an instructive book that not only students of Civics but every man and woman who has any thing to do with civic matters of India must keep a copy of it on his or her table." I yielded and made up my mind to undertake the revision during the summer months when, I thought, I could find time from my other duties. But, as it happened I fell seriously ill in May and remained so during the month of June and a part of July also. Thus it was impossible for me to do the job. I asked my daughter, Mrs. Sumitra Bhargava, M.A., who teaches Civics to Intermediate students in the local Mahila Vidyalaya if she could come to my rescue and do the work. Happily she consented and this revised edition is the result of her labour. I could go

through the revised book only when the greater part of it had been printed and found that I could not do the job so well as she has done it. My best thanks are due to her.

I am indebted also to my old and esteemed friend, P. Brijnath Sharga, M.A., LL B., Advocate for furnishing his own notes for improving the book. These notes, as Mrs. Bhargava says, proved very valuable and have been almost in entirety included in this edition.

Mrs. Bhargava in the following note describes the changes which she has introduced in the book.

M. B. L. BHARGAVA.

Literature Palace,
Lucknow.
August 8, 1944.

II.

When in May, 1944, from his sickbed, my father asked me if I could revise the book, I took this request as a command and consented to carry it out without a demur as a filial duty, although, as I realised later, it was more than my competence could justify. I have done it as best as I could during the short time at my disposal, although I wish I could do it better. I find my labour amply rewarded in that the work has met his approval.

The book was first published eight years ago. During this period India has made considerable history and the outlook of her people has materially changed.

The book, therefore, needed considerable additions and alterations in order to be up-to-date. With this object in view, I have added new material to almost every chapter. The statistics given in the original book were all based on the figures of the 1931 Census; I have, as far as they were available, used the figures of 1941 Census. The social and political outlook of the country is substantially different to-day from what it was in 1936, considerable additions have, therefore, been made to the chapter on Social Life and to the accounts of political organisations such as the Indian National Congress, the All-India Muslim League and the Hindu Mahasabha. The chapter on Education has been brought up-to-date, even the recommendations of the Sargeant Committee (1944) have been briefly noticed. Other chapters have received the same attention.

Some of the chapters in the original book were already unduly long. My additions would have made them considerably longer. I have, therefore, deleted many pages from the book. For instance, the chapter on Local Self-Government in the first edition, although very interesting and useful for advanced students, was too detailed for Intermediate students. I have, therefore, cut out pages after pages of this chapter. I have written an altogether new chapter on Economic Life of India which was lacking in the original book and which is an essential part of the subject.

I have tried to maintain throughout the book the nationalist attitude which was the characteristic feature of the first edition.

I must mention with gratitude that the valuable notes and suggestions furnished by P. Brijnath Sharga at my father's request proved very helpful and I have incorporated them almost entirely in this edition.

In the difficult and wearisome task of proof reading my youngest brother Sarvottam Bhargava (fondly called "Raja" by all of us) has been of great assistance and I must express my obligation to him.

I trust this new edition will meet the approval of those for whom it is intended. In this I shall find additional reward for my labour

Mehta Niwas,

Lucknow.

7th August, 1944.

(Mrs.) SUMITRA BHARGAVA.

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CIVIC LIFE OF INDIA

CHAPTER I

GENERAL INFORMATION

Area:—The area of the whole Indian Empire, that is to say, of the territories administered by the Government of India and the Indian States and excluding the frontier states of Nepal and Bhutan and the French and Portuguese Settlements and Burma is 1,581,410 square miles. The provinces under British administration comprise 866,000 square miles or 55 per cent of the total. The remainder is included in the various Indian states. The total area of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh is 112,523 square miles of which 106,247 square miles are British Indian and the remaining 6,276 square miles represent the States of Rampur, Benares and Tehri Garhwal. The province is thus a little smaller than the British Isles. The British territory of the United Provinces is divided into 48 districts.

Population:—The total population of India, according to the Census of 1941, is 388,997,955, of which British India contains 295,808,722 or 70 per cent, and Indian States 93,189,233 or 30 per cent. There are, on an average, 245 persons to the square mile for the whole of India.

The population by provinces is as below in thousands:—

Ajmer Merwara, 584; Andaman and Nicobar, 34; Assam, 10,205, Baluchistan, 502, Bengal, 60,314; Bihar, 36,340, Orissa, 8,729, Bombay, 20,858; Sind, 4,537; C. P. and Berar, 16,832, Coorg, 169; Delhi, 917; Madras, 49,342, N. W. F. Province, 3,038, Punjab, 28,419; *United Provinces*, 55,021.

The population, in thousands, according to communities is—

	<i>India</i>	<i>per cent</i>	<i>U. P.</i>	<i>per cent</i>
Hindus	254,931	66	45,812	83
Mohammadans	92,058	24	8,416	15
Christians	6,317	2	160	'3
Sikhs	5,691	2	232	'4
Jains	1,449	'3	103	'2
Buddhists	232	5
Parsis	115	1
Jews	22	'08	...
Tribes	25,441	7	289	'5
Others	410	1	1

Occupations:—India is predominantly an agricultural country, agriculture providing occupation to as much as about 72* per cent. of the population. Industries provide occupation to nearly 10 per cent, a majority of them being engaged in domestic

*As detailed figures by occupation are not available for 1941, the figures given in this paragraph are those based on the Census of 1931.

unorganised industries. Trade and transport embrace about 8 per cent, and administration, civil and military, is responsible for only about $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The rest are engaged in private service or are daily wage-earners in local and industrial areas

In the United Provinces, 762 per thousand are dependent, in the main or entirely, on ordinary cultivation (including rents from agricultural lands) for their living.

The following figures are taken from the Census Report of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh for 1931 to indicate the general occupational distribution in the United Provinces in thousands—

1. Exploitation of animals and vegetation	762
2. Industry	111
3. Transport	8
4. Trade	47
5. Police Force	4
6. Public administration	3
7. Professions and liberal arts	11
8. Persons living on their income	1
9. Domestic service	20
10. Insufficiently described occupations	25
11. Unproductive	8

Races of the people.—The population of India includes several races of different types. The original inhabitants were Dravidians who still inhabit Southern India where fresh emigrants did not reach in large

numbers. Their languages are Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Canarese and other similar dialects. The entry into the country, from the north, of people of white race produced new types of men. The white people, called the Aryans, first settled on the banks of Sindhu (Indus) and gave the country its name Hind, Hindustan, or (the English) India. The present people are mostly of Aryan and Dravidian blood, the former predominating in the north of the Vindhya mountain range. About 1,000 years ago, Turks and Afghans made their way into India and founded the Moham-maden empire which lasted for about 500 years. The Mohammadans multiplied both by natural propagation and by conversion of the Hindus. Then came on the scene the Dutch, the Portuguese, the French and the English, the last having played such an important part in the last 200 years of Indian history. In the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the population mostly consists of Aryan Hindus and Musalmans. The number of Europeans is very small. The so-called depressed classes are generally of mixed descent, fallen low because of their avocations. The number of the people belonging to other races is negligible.

Languages:—Language has the tendency to change after distance. In India, there are about 150 distinct spoken languages but none of these has escaped the influence of Sanskrit while many are derived from it. They may be divided into three main groups: (1) The Dravidian, (2) The Aryan, and (3) The Indo-Chinese.

The Dravidian languages are spoken by the people south of the Vindhya range including the presidencies of Bombay and Madras and the state of Mysore, the southern portions of Hyderabad and the Central Provinces. Of these, Tamil and Telugu are the most cultivated having good literatures of their own. Aryan languages, represented by Hindi, Marathi, Bengali, Uriya and Gujrati are spoken by the people of India proper. Of these, Hindi is most widely spoken although Bengali has produced the best literature so far and is spoken by the entire population of Bengal.

Indo-Chinese languages, the most important of which is Burmese, are spoken in East Bengal.

The spoken language of the people of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh is Hindi, Urdu or Hindustani, three names given to one language by different classes of people on account of religious, communal or political considerations. The only difference between *Hindi and Urdu is that the enthusiasts of the former* are importing Sanskrit words in it while those of Urdu consider the language poor if it is not Persianised. The nationalists call it Hindustani and, in its use, try to steer the middle course, viz., avoid, as far as possible, both Sanskrit and Persian expressions. Urdu is written in Arabic while Hindi in Devanagiri characters.

Indian Budget—The latest budget of India is made up of the following main items:

In Crores of Rupees.

	1942-43	1943-44
Revenue	178'76	219 40
Expenditure	273'42	259'59
Deficit on Revenue account	94'66	40'19
Recoverable war expenditure from British Govt.	337'00	346'00

The Chief sources of income for British India are Customs (Rs. 30 crores), Central Excise Duties (25 crores), Corporation tax (43 crores), Taxes on Income (47 crores), Salt (9 crores), Opium (1 crore), Railway (65 crores), Irrigation (3 lakhs), Posts and Telegraphs (9 crores), Debt services (16 crores), Civil administration (1 crore), Currency and Mint (5 crores), Civil Works (48 lakhs), Miscellaneous (4 crores) Defence services (16 crores), Extraordinary items (14 crores).

The chief items of expenditure are: Railways (38 crores), Irrigation (10 lakhs), Posts and Telegraphs (86 lakhs), Debt services (11 crores), Civil administration (18 crores) Currency and Mint (2 crores), Civil Works (3 crores), Miscellaneous (7 crores), Defence Services (2 arabs).

Literacy.—Literacy in India is very poor. Taking the figures of the whole country we find that only 12 persons out of a hundred are literate. Among provinces and States, Travancore occupies the first place with 47·8 per cent. Cochin, Delhi, Baroda, Bombay,

Bengal and Madras follow successively in order. In the United Provinces, 8 per cent. only are literate. Other provinces are even worse than the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Literacy, in large cities, is naturally higher than in rural areas. For instance, in Lucknow city, 193 per thousand are literate, while in the rest of the Lucknow district, only 11 per thousand can read and write.

CHAPTER II

INFLUENCE OF PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT

General Effects.

Physical environment exercises a very definite and strong influence on the evolution of human culture and civilisation and on the determination of racial characteristics. The origin, growth and development of differing human characteristics and institutions of the world are the result of varying geographical and natural conditions in the midst of which men live, thrive, move and have their being. For instance, the inhabitants of cold and damp regions having little sunshine are generally whiter in complexion than their prototypes living along the equatorial line. They are generally hardy, robust, enterprising, possessing a spirit of adventure, while those living in warm climates are lethargic, ease-loving and indolent. Again, where nature is plentiful and people enjoy ample leisure from the worries of earning their livelihood, they cultivate fine arts, philosophy, metaphysics and religion which have always been essential features of human civilisation. The mountainous surface of Greece, her proximity to the sea, her mild climate, her fertile valleys and semi-tropical vegetable growth and other physical features had a potent influence in moulding the characteristic features of Greek civilisation. Due to her mountain barriers which gave her

protection from foreign invasions and which cut her from intercourse with other peoples, the people of ancient Greece developed a strong sense of local patriotism. They were both mountaineers and mariners, they possessed vigour and courage to an extraordinary degree, an uncommon spirit of adventure, a high versatility and displayed a passion for freedom peculiar to themselves. The great variety of natural products as well as the facilities for maritime communications brought with it commercial enterprise while the variety and the beauty of the natural scenery produced poets and artists of a very high order. The valley of the Nile with the neighbouring desert overflowed by the river produced a distinct civilisation in Egypt. The sphinx and the pyramids could not have existed anywhere except in Egypt. The physical features of England, her mineral and coal deposits, her seashore, and seaports have made the English people hardy, enterprising, sea-loving and a nation of manufacturers and tradesmen.

Physical environment determines social customs as well. The forms of marriage, the manner of food and dress are all products of natural surroundings. Giddings, in his book 'Principles of Sociology' tells us that "In the tropical forests of Andaman Islands which are dry and healthy and afford abundance of food, a woman and her infant child can find subsistence without the husband's help and it is therefore not remarkable that marriage among the Mincopis is commonly dissolved as soon as the child is weaned."

India is no exception to the observations made in the preceding paragraphs. Her past Indian Conditions strongly illustrates the truth. But she differs from many countries in one important respect. Like Greece, England, France or Japan, India is not a small country. It is a continent in itself as large in area as the whole of Europe minus Russia. It comprises of regions the climates and the soils of which vary in extremes. The cold of the Himalayan tracts is as intense as the heat of Sind, Beluchistan and Rajputana deserts is severe. If Chirapunji in Assam records 450" of normal annual rainfall, Jacobabad in Sind and Jharput in Beluchistan are content with a mere three or four inches. If people at Chirapunji always complain of the wetness of weather, in the Daman in N. W. F. Province, men content themselves with one drink a day, and the cattle one in two days.

In the N. W. F. Province and Beluchistan, again, the area covered by forests is about 1½ per cent of the area of each province while in Assam, it is 44'5.

The same variety exists with regard to the fertility of soil, mineral resources and other geographical, physical and natural conditions.

No wonder, that these widely differing physical and natural environments have given rise to equally varying types of culture, manners and habits and other civic characteristics in various provinces. The acute businessman of Bombay, the calculating zemindar

of the Punjab, the refined taluqdar of Oudh, the cultured politician of Madras, the haughty Rajput of Rajputana, the brave and undaunted Pathan of the N. W. F. Province, and the subtle intellectual of Bengal, show distinct traits of provincial character. Again, if India is proud of her Jagdish Chandra Bose, the inventor of the Resonant Recorder which records, automatically, measurements of time as short as one thousandth part of a second; of her Rabindra Nath Tagore whose sublime poetry and metaphysics are objects of admiration all the world over; of Mahatma Gandhi who has been described by a famous American bishop as the greatest living man of the world, she has, on the other extreme, the Kols and Bhils who live in hill caves, eat uncooked food, go practically naked with nothing better than the primitive bow and arrow to protect them from wild beasts.

In spite of this diversity there are certain features which are common to the whole country. The whole of India is predominantly an agricultural country, whatever the amount of rainfall in the various provinces. Of course, the great rivers help agriculture a good deal. And this feature alone has shaped, to a considerable extent, the civic character of its population and its social customs including religion. Indra, the God of Rain and Thunder finds a high place in the Divine Pantheon of the Hindus, because rain is essential for the success of crops. Krishna, the cow-herd, giving protection to crops and cattle from

vagaries of rain and storm appeals more to the village people who form 85 per cent of the population of the whole country than Krishna, the politician, or Krishna the warrior, or Krishna the propounder of the philosophy of Bhagwat Gita.

The mountains, the rivers, the plains, the sea and the sea coasts and the climate all have produced distinct characteristics among the people directly affected. In the hilly country, west of the Indus, live the different Pathan tribes who are hardier, braver, although less intelligent than people living in the Ganges basin, for instance. The sturdy Gurkhas of Nepal and the people of mountainous Beluchistan are other examples. River banks in India were the first to give rise to civilisation because food was easily obtainable there. They provide easy means of communication and this is one of the reasons why the Gangetic valley has always been a centre of trade and commerce. Ganges is regarded holy by the Hindus perhaps because no other river in the world has influenced mankind or helped the growth of civilisation so much as it has. Unlike mountainous areas, plains provide better opportunities to their inhabitants to mix freely and put united efforts to use and control the rivers, to build temples and towns and have common laws, customs and language. Here, lands being fertile, the struggle for existence is easy and consequently people have leisure to cultivate philosophy, religion and fine arts. The United Provinces and Bengal have produced

the greatest of thinkers and philosophers of the country. The mainland being situated at a great distance from the sea, the people have long been averse to foreign travel unlike those of countries like Greece.

The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh or the land of the Ganges and the Jumna have been described by some as the Hindustan proper. It is the area where Aryan civilisation most developed as the original Aryan emigrants coming from the north settled along the banks of the Ganges and the Jumna at a very early period. In this region, agriculture flourishes as summer monsoon is more or less regular. Ancient cities are numerous; Lucknow, Allahabad and Benares have all made history and even today play a very important part in the civic life of the whole country. As the climate is warm, the people generally are slightly dark of complexion, not very hard-working and enterprising. Adventure is no prominent characteristic of theirs. But easy availability of food has provided them leisure to cultivate fine arts, to develop philosophy, religion and poetry as people in no other part of the country have succeeded in doing. In intellect and refinement, in their manner of living, in their food and dress, they are inferior to none in the whole country.

Besides the geographical and other natural features mentioned in the preceding paragraphs there are many others which mould and determine the civic character of the life of a nation. The religious

and social institutions of a people, the nature of the education imparted to them, the political and economic conditions in which they live, their past history and traditions, their literature, philosophy and arts have all a decided influence on their civilisation. Some of these factors as they relate to India are discussed at length in the later chapters of this book.

CHAPTER III

INDIA—ONE COUNTRY AND ONE NATION

India, on account of the immensity of her geographical area, of the diversity of races and religions of her people, of the numerous languages and dialects spoken and written within its boundaries and of the variety of its physical, geographical and natural phenomena, is often spoken of not as one country but as a continent, meaning thereby that there are no cultural, linguistic or other bonds of union among its people and that this diversity does not entitle the people to call themselves one nation. This aspect has, during recent times, been given a political significance. European writers who desire that foreign rule in India should be perpetuated or should, at any rate, continue for as long a period as possible, describe India "as rather a collection of countries" Sir John Strachey, for instance, declared that "there is not and never was an India or even any country of India possessing, according to European ideas, any sort of unity, physical, political....." Some well-meaning friends take it for granted that India is one country but it is the result of the British rule in India. The strong central government of British India has, no doubt, helped to restore among Indian people the sense of unity which was showing signs of disintegration. The fact that India has existed as one geographical

and cultural unit from time immemorial is borne out by the writings of other equally eminent western scholars. Sir Herbert Risley, the great anthropologist, points out: "Beneath the manifold diversity of physical and social types, languages, customs and religions which strikes the observer in India there can still be discerned, as Mr Yusuf Ali has pointed out, a certain underlying uniformity of life from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. Its ancient history, its customs, its traditions, its religious observances are all conclusive evidence that India has, from ancient time, been one country geographically, socially and politically." The ancient and modern common names Jambudwipa, Bharatvarsha, Hindustan and India all indicate the tract of country between the Himalayas in the north and the Indian Ocean in the south. The ancient Vedic hymns when they mention the holy motherland describe it as a land of the rivers Ganges, Jumna, Narvada, Godavari and Indus and millions of Hindus when taking their bath even to-day recite the ancient mantra,

गङ्गे च यमुने चैव गोदावरि सरस्वति ।

नर्मदे सिंधु कावेरी जलेस्मिन् सन्निधिं कुरु ॥

"O ye Ganges, Jumna, Godavari, Saraswati, Narmada, Sindhu, Kavery, come ye and enter into this water."

The principal sacred places of ancient Hindus, Ajodhya, Mathura, Maya (Hardwar), Kashi, Kanchi (Conjeevaram), Avanti (Ujjain) and Dwarka, which

every Hindu should visit, cover between them the whole of India as it is understood to-day.

Again, the four principal places of pilgrimage, which it is the duty of every Hindu to visit at least once in his life time, are situated at the four extreme corners of India as it is now understood. Badrinath and Kedarnath in the Himalayas, Jagannath on the extreme east, Rameshwaram on the southern extremity and Dwarka in Gujrat on the west attract pilgrims from all quarters of India and even from places abroad where Indians have settled.

The political terms such as Rajas, Maharajas, Chakravati Maharajas and Samrats point to the same conclusion. The greatest Raja was he who ruled the whole country or drew tribute from smaller princes. It was the ambition of every popular Raja to rule the whole country and become a Chakravati Raja. During the Hindu period up to the time of Asoka there were several kings who ruled over the whole Bharatavarsha. During later period, Akbar established his empire from one end of the country to the other. Thus we see that India has always been *and is today one unit of territory, one country and* Indians have always regarded it as such.

Some of those who admit the one-ness of the country deny India her claim to nationhood. Those who do so from political or hostile motives may be ignored. But there are well-meaning friends who also doubt the nationhood of India. These friends either base

their conclusion on certain data which are incorrect or forget that other peoples who have similar diversity of race, religion, language and culture like the Russians, the Chinese and the Egyptians are recognised, on all hands, as nations as good as England, France, Germany and Japan themselves. In case of India they argue that there is no uniformity of culture, civilisation, traditions, religion, language, and race and when these elements are lacking, the inhabitants of the country are a mere collection of people and not a nation. Let us consider these features. It may be observed at the outset that uniformity of all these traits is possible only if a nation is composed of a small number of people and cover an equally small area. It may be possible, for instance, in the case of England or Holland or Greece. But in large states there can be found no such uniformity. Take the case of the Americans in the United States whom no body dare deprive of the title of calling themselves a nation. Here is the opening paragraph of the II Chapter of the book "American Commonwealth" by Viscount Bryce:—

"Some years ago the American Protestant Episcopal Church was occupied at its triennial Convention in revising its liturgy. It was thought desirable to introduce among the short sentence prayers a prayer for the whole people; and an eminent New England divine proposed the words "O Lord, bless our nation." Accepted one afternoon on the spur of the moment, the sentence was brought up next day for reconsidera-

tion, when so many objections were raised by the laity to the word "nation" as importing too definite a recognition of national unity, that it was dropped, and instead there were adopted the words "O Lord, bless these United States."

As Bryce himself explains, "To Europeans who are struck by the patriotism and demonstrative national pride of their trans-atlantic visitors, this fear of admitting that the American people constitute a nation seems extraordinary. But it is only the expression on its sentimental side of the most striking and varying characteristic of the political system of the country, the existence of a double government, double allegiance, a double patriotism."

Take, again, the case of Canada which is a governing colony. Is its claim for nationhood because of sharp cultural diversity of the groupings that federated, the French and the English? The French, in certain provinces, are divorced from the British communities by the barriers of race, religion and even culture.

In comparison to all the above-named countries India has, perhaps, a greater claim to be spoken of as a nation. In such a vast country language written language cannot be the same. Even, in Great Britain itself, the language of a Londoner is not the same as that of a citizen of Cork. No wonder, the language of a Ben-
Londoner. No wonder, the language of a Ben-

that of a Madras. But it can be said without fear of contradiction that all the provincial languages except those of Madras have marked similarities being only local variations of the Prakrit derived from the ancient Sanskrit. Bengali, Oriya, Hindi, Gujrati, Marathi and Gurmukhi are all very similar in their pronunciation and grammar, construction and the manner of writing. Even the languages of Madras, Tamil, Telugu, Canarese and Malayalam have a high percentage of Sanskrit or Sanskritic words. [This goes a long way, so far as the language argument is concerned, to prove that India is one nation] But there is the additional fact that a person speaking Hindustani can be understood almost throughout the length and breadth of the country.

The culture, the customs, and the traditions of the people are the same in every province and to a great extent all over the country especially so far as the Hindus are concerned. A Hindu in Mysore regards the Vedas, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata with the same reverence as a Hindu in Dacca or in Peshawar. A Hindu in Tinnevely will treat a guest with the same hospitality and love as a Hindu in the Himalayan hills because his sacred literature and his traditions lay down that an *atithi* (a guest) must always be treated with respect.

Mohammadans have been in India for the last 500 years and more. In race, they are not different from Hindus because (95) per cent of them are converts from Hinduism. Their culture may have been different

when they came from Persia and Afghanistan 500 years ago but, to day, they are not different from the rest of the population in this respect. Their language is the same as that of the other people. A Madrasī Musalman speaks the same language as a Madrasī Hindu. It is claimed that Urdu is their language. In the first place, Musalmans all over India do not speak and can not understand Urdu. If they do, it is like Hindus all over India speaking Hindi. And Hindi and Urdu as spoken languages are essentially the same. As regards traditions and ancient literature it is true that a Parsi, or a Musalman or a Sikh does not take the same pride in the Vedas, the Ramayana and the Mahabharat as a Hindu does. *But this is due to difference in religion.* As pieces of philosophy and literature there is no non-Hindu in India, or as a matter of fact in the whole world, but admires their beauties. As regards non-religious literature, Hindus and Musalmans appreciate and admire, in the same manner, all good works whether they emanate from the pen of a Hindu or from that of a Musalman. Do not Hindus read with fondness, sometimes even with enthusiasm, the Hindi works of Khusro, Jayasī, Raskhan and Rahīm and do not Musalmans with the same delight and delectation the works of Nasīm, Sarshar, and Chakbast?

There is variety in social customs, no doubt, but the lapse of 500 years has rubbed off many angularities and, to-day, we find Hindus and Musalmans both warmly joining in each other's fairs and festivals and

other social functions. Musalmans have adopted many social customs of the Hindus just as the latter have assimilated a great deal of Muslim culture.

Religions do vary. This difference should not disturb the national character of the whole people, specially as there are striking resemblances and similarities not only in principles but also in many details. Examined deeply it will be found that the goal of all religions is the same, outward methods may differ.

What is of still greater importance is the common political aspirations of the different classes of people living in India. They all aspire for democratic self-government for their country. Much is made of the fact that Musalmans and Sikhs and the Depressed Classes are for separate representation and do not regard themselves as one with the rest of the population. This ought not to be a bar against India's claim for nationhood. There are minorities in every country and minorities are entitled to safeguard their special interests in a suitable manner.

✓Nationhood is not only a political or a social phenomenon. It is psychological as well. This is noticed when a Madrasi, a Kashmiri and a Bengali meet in a foreign land, say, in London or Paris or New York. How are they attracted to each other? Is not a strong feeling evident that they belong to the same country, to the same nation? Do they treat each other as they treat a Japanese or a Turk? Thus we see that, considered from whatever point of view, India is one

country, one people and one nation and is going to be one state in the near future.

Since these paragraphs were written in 1936, there has taken place a fundamental change in the outlook of certain communal bodies and the parties hostile to Indian national aspirations have made great capital of this difference. A section, admittedly an influential section of the Muslim community, has persuaded itself to believe that Musalmans have nothing in common with the rest of the population of India and form a separate nation and as such has demanded a division of India into a Muslim State and a Non-Muslim State. Happily another section of that community has not fallen in line with the Muslim League, the protagonist of this theory. Catching the contagion from these Muslims some leaders of the so-called scheduled classes as also of Sikhs have demanded separate territories to form separate sovereign states of their own. This contagion may spread further. If all these claims for separation are accepted, India will have to be divided into numberless stans each independent of the other. It is hoped that the phase is only a temporary one and is an outcome of a biased outlook on contemporary political problems possibly aggravated and encouraged by the actions of interested persons and parties and when this mist of mutual suspicion and misunderstanding has cleared and parties interested in division have disappeared a United Nation and a United State will emerge to the glory of the common motherland, the India of Asoka and of Akbar.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL LIFE IN INDIA

Judged by her social life India presents a picture

Diversity in Social Life. different from that in European countries. Her people are divided in many religious communities, Hindus, Musalmans, Sikhs, Parsis and Christians, some of them further subdivided into castes and sects each following its own code of life and looking upon that of others as something unholy. In a European country, like England or France, two citizens professing different religions can and do in many cases follow the same social customs and observe the same social practices; but in India, a Musalman's social life is, in some respects very different from that of a Hindu or a Christian. Social exclusion has been the main characteristic of Indian life. Among the Hindus themselves, there are wide gulfs between sections and sections. A Brahmana will not eat food cooked by a man of another caste. Some sections of humanity are treated as untouchable and unapproachable. In spite of the democratic nature of Islam, social differences exist even among the followers of that religion in India. Many practices observed by the Shias are taboo to Sunnies. When we attempt to have a review of the social life in India,

we cannot cover the whole field at once. We have to study separately the social life of the Hindus, of the Musalmans and of the Christians and then institute comparison. We begin with the Hindu social life

(i) Hindu Social life.

The most distinguishing feature of the Hindu community is its division into varnas and castes. Varna originally meant colour. It is, therefore, easy to conclude that the original division of the Hindus was based on the colour of the skin. The Aryan settlers in India who came from Central Asia or other regions were whiter than the aborigines whose complexion was darker owing to the hot climate of the country. The division of the Aryans among Brahmanas, Kshatriyas and Vaishyas was either a later development or might have been brought with them by the immigrants. The theory said to be traceable to the Vedas, that the Brahmana was born from the mouth, the Kshatriya from the arms, the Vaishya from the stomach or the thighs and the Sudra from the feet of Brahma or the creator and derives his social status from this origin may be a beautiful allegory but is too fantastic to be accepted by a rational mind to-day. Whatever its origin, the division is understandable as being based on professions and functions. According to Kautilya, the function of a Brahmana was the performance of Yajnas (sacrifice), Adhyayan (study), Adhyapan (teaching), Dan, (giving of gifts), Pratigraha (taking

of gifts), that of a Kshatriya, Yajna, study, giving of gifts, fighting for and protection of his fellow-men; of a Vaishya, agriculture, cattle breeding, commerce and banking in addition to sacrifice, study and gift and that of the Sudra was mainly service of the higher varnas or Dwijas as they were called, agricultural labour and the like.

The original fourfold division persists even at the present time as Hindus all over India will be found to belong to the one or the other of these four classes. They may not be performing the tasks assigned to them as above but they accept the classification. Indian ancient literature bears witness to the fact that although society was divided into four classes as above, the differentiation was not so rigid as it is today. But such a system could not last long. In course of time, the son naturally followed the avocation of his father and heredity in profession came into existence. It was only a question of time that, in order to keep a profession confined to one class and to make the work more efficient, marriage came to be contracted within the groups.

Human nature being what it is, marriages between members of different varnas did take place now and then and the offspring of these marriages were not recognised as belonging either to the father's or the mother's varna. For instance, the child born of a Brahmana father and a Kshatriya mother was Brahmana, no doubt, but of an order lower in grade than

the child of both the Brahmana parents. Thus, not only sub-sections appeared among the four original classes but also gradation in status appeared in the Hindu society. Groups engaged in particular professions formed a caste of their own, members marrying within the groups themselves. Again, when population became excessive in a particular locality the more enterprising of the members moved to and settled at other places. These settlements assumed new caste appellations, such as Kanyakubjas and Saraswatas. There are groups which originally were religious sects but, later on, developed into regular castes. The Bishnoos and Sadhs of the United Provinces and Lingayats of Bombay are illustrations. (Thus, castes and sub castes came into existence and once the division began, it went on multiplying. To-day, there are thousands of castes and sub castes.)

The division of the Hindu society into water-tight compartments of castes and sub-castes is, however, looked down upon by the educated classes 'as a brake in the wheels of India's national development. It might have served some useful purpose in the past, but, today it is an anachronism. It might have, for instance, led to greater efficiency in professions and functions; it might have minimised the evils of competition in trade and industry, or have prevented mass conversion of the Hindus to other religions and the like, but the political, social

2 Caste system losing its rigidity.

and economic conditions that prevail today in the world and particularly in India are no longer favourable to the maintenance of the time-honoured caste distinctions. There is a revolt against it although there are many, even among the educated classes who advocate the retention of the original fourfold division of the Hindus. The reasons for this revolt are obvious. .

The caste system prevents the growth of solidarity among the Hindus. Members of each caste generally look after the interests of their own group at the cost of those of the nation. A Brahmana voting for a Brahmana, a Kayastha voting for a Kayastha is an ordinary though sickening sight at the time of elections to the various legislatures and other elective bodies where sturdy nationalists are required to serve the interests of the nation. Whereas other religions have converted millions to their own faiths, the caste system has blocked the passage of others into the fold of the Hindu religion. *The result is that one cannot embrace Hindu religion even if one believes in it.* It adversely tells on the health and virility of the Hindus by narrowing the sphere of choice in marriage which is generally done in the same caste or sub-caste. As stated above, there is an intellectual revolt against the rigidity of caste system in modern Hindu India. There are many factors which are undermining the system, slowly but surely. Western education and western civilisation have opened the eyes of the Hindus

to the evil of division. Commercial and economic competition with the west has deprived many functional castes of their profession and these have assumed other avocations. We see the spectacle of a Brahmana acting as a leather merchant, a goldsmith acting as a teacher and a weaver as a warrior in the army. Thus the vocational distinction of the caste system has practically disappeared. A Bania today is a Bania only because he is born of Bania parents although he may not be a trader at all. Easy and rapid means of communication, growth of large cities with congested populations, establishment of large factories and workshops, political associations, clubs, schools and colleges have all led to closer association of members of different castes and communities, resulting in interdining and otherwise mixing for social functions, have all the effect of destroying the character of exclusiveness of castes. Lastly, the legislature has also done its part in removing disabilities about the inheritance of property and legitimacy of children born of inter-caste marriages. Law has deprived caste conferences, biradaries and panchayats of most of the disciplinary powers they used to employ although these powers have not yet wholly disappeared. Recently a caste conference passed a verdict of excommunication of one of its members for the crime of contracting marriage with a girl of another caste but the decree has been a dead letter in active practice as the gentleman still remains a respectable member of society. Fusion of sub-castes is taking place and if

the present mood of the society continued it can be prophesied with a fair degree of accuracy that caste system will, one day, become a thing of the past.

As a result of the caste system in Hindu society has come the problem of the depressed classes and untouchable classes. It means that among the Hindus, there are certain sections the members of which are considered to be so low and so impure that caste Hindus regard it a sin even to touch them. In the United Provinces, Bhangis, Domes and some other sections are considered as untouchables. In southern India, some classes are not merely untouchable but even unapproachable. These people have their huts or places of residence outside the locality occupied by caste Hindus; they are not allowed to draw water from the wells from which caste Hindus take their supply. They are not allowed to enter the temples and to have *darshan* of gods and goddesses. They are not admitted to common schools. At some places, they are not allowed to walk on the common roads. These classes have now realised their position in the Hindu society and have, at the instance of their leaders who have received high education, raised a cry of revolt against the whole society. The higher castes also have realised the criminal character of their neglect of these classes. Says Mahatma Gandhi, "Has not a just nemesis overtaken us for the crime of untouchability? How we have reaped as we have sown?"

Have we not practised *Dyerism* and *O'Dwyerism* on our own kith and kin? We have segregated the Pariah and we are, in turn, segregated in the British Colonies. We deny him the use of public wells, we throw the leavings of our plates at him. His very shadow pollutes us. Indeed there is no charge that the Pariah cannot fling at our faces and which we do not fling in the faces of Englishmen." The Hindu Mahasabha, claiming to be the organ of the Hindu community realised its duty towards this section of the population only when Musalmans and Christians began to absorb the depressed classes in their own religious folds. Mahatma Gandhi who always had a soft corner in his heart for these unfortunate people awakened to his sense of duty when the British Premier in 1931 decided on their political segregation from the Hindus and to give them separate electorates.

✓ Mahatma Gandhi undertook "a fast unto death" in order to see that this blot on Hinduism is removed as early as possible. The result was instantaneous. He had fasted only a few days when leaders of caste Hindus and of the depressed classes met at Poona and came to some understanding whereby their political segregation was averted. It led to concentrated efforts on the part of the Hindus to improve the social condition of these classes. The Hindu society is now determined to wipe off the blot of untouchability from its fold. ✓ Everywhere temples are being thrown open to them, restrictions as to

drawing water from public wells, admittance to public schools, etc., are being removed. Their dirty work is being made more sanitary. Municipalities are vying with each other to improve the sanitary conditions of their living, and high caste Hindus are doing their best for the same purpose. The age-long prejudices against these 'faithful servants' of society are dying out and it is hoped that the efforts of the Hindu public, of the Harijans themselves and of the government will soon result in the abolition of this impure and unholy practice.

Another great institution which moulds the character of social life among the Hindus is

4. The Joint Family System

the joint family system. The Hindu family has always been patriarchal, including in it the head, his wife or wives, his unmarried daughters, his sons with their wives and children and collateral relations such as brothers, uncles, aunts, their sons and daughters. They all live under one roof, with a common mass and common property. There is no separate purse, the earnings of all the members, men and women, going to a common pool. Non-earning members possess equal rights with the earning members. This system of living in a joint family has both its advantages and disadvantages. "When the state organisation had not fully developed, families were small states within a state. The head who possessed magisterial powers looked after the persons and property of the members of the family, preserved religious

customs and rights and maintained the economic pursuits and social status and manners. Traditions of family and society, marriage and education of its members were settled and cared for. Weaker members, women and children, were brought up and helped in life. It solved, in a way, the problem of the unemployed or the poor. When the state had not come to recognise and to perform the welfare functions of society they were performed by families".* "The joint family," as Mr. Natarajan points out, "has enabled many public men in India to ignore personal needs and to leave domestic cares to another member." What the caste did for its members on a large scale, the family did in a narrower circle. Its disadvantages and defects have been thus described by the same author. "We have already stated about the subordination of women. 'It has created a number of drones who not being inclined to work, keep hanging on the family and exhaust its resources and prove a constant source of burden, quarrel and anxiety to the earning members of the family.' Their dependent mentality gets increased and fed in its atmosphere. Initiative, venture and desire for work on their part are absent. Their presence has destroyed the atmosphere of an ideal and loving home where father, mother and children work happily and harmoniously for their existence or well being. There is hardly any association of wife and husband for cultural or intellectual

* Prof. Puntambekar.

purposes or spiritual growth except that one gets tired of them."

The joint family like the caste is, however, rapidly breaking up owing to changed circumstances. It is being attacked by divers disintegrating forces all round. The most potent factor has been the influence of the west. Contact with Europeans, study of the literature of the west where family consists of the father, the mother and their young children, have created on the part of our educated young men a tendency to separate from the family as soon as they begin to be independent of the income of the family. Love of independence and of romance lead many young men to leave the family and settle down separately. Formerly, the joint property could not be alienated by any member nor could a creditor lay hand on the joint property in satisfaction of his claim against an individual member, but the British Indian law made the joint property seizable against the claims of a creditor and thus helped the dissolution of the joint family. The law itself was the result of economic causes. The growth of city life has proved a solvent of the ancient joint family. In the villages, the members of a family still cooperate in farm work and other labour although subdivision of agricultural holdings has resulted in the split of the joint family even there. But in the cities the joint family has very nearly broken up. The industrial towns attract the male population of the neighbouring villages with the

result that women are left behind. In Bombay, for instance, the labourers who number nearly ten lakhs out of a total population of 15 lakhs cannot get a house to live in. Obviously, family life is impossible when real homes in the shape of whole houses are not available. These disruptive tendencies are getting stronger every day and it seems that, like the caste, the joint family system of the Hindus is disappearing.

With regard to marriage there are many features which distinguish this function among the Hindus from that in other communities. In 6 Marriage and Divorce the first place, marriage is almost universal among the Hindus. It is a religious belief that a man's soul can not find rest after his death unless certain ceremonies have been gone through and which can be performed only by a son. We may find unmarried men here and there for one reason or another, but marriage of girls is compulsory. Secondly, whereas in the west the field of choice of a wife is practically unlimited, among the Hindus it is hedged in by a number of restrictions. A man can marry only within his own caste and outside his own *gotra*. Another distinctive feature of a Hindu marriage is that the bridegroom has no voice in the selection of his bride nor the girl has in that of her husband. The marriages are generally arranged by parents and guardians. This system has both its advantages and defects; for that reason there are not wanting enthusiasts who advocate love marriages with all their paraphernalia of

courtships, flirtations, engagements, etc. But this practice is not yet approved by the society. The practice of child marriage which was universal among the Hindus only 50 years ago is now on the wane. The educated classes, at any rate, do not favour such marriages and the public opinion is generally against it. The state legislation from time to time restricting the ages of marriage of boys and girls has helped in the discouragement of such marriages. The Sarda Act of 1929 fixed the age of marriage of males at 18 years and of females at 14. The Act has so far been only a paper statute. It is time that marriages below these ages are declared void by law. Imposition of penalties on married boys in admission to schools has had a healthy effect.

Monogamy is the general practice. Cases of polygamy are found to exist among certain communities. But even there the practice is getting unpopular. Economic and other causes have compelled public opinion to disapprove, even to condemn such marriages. Widows generally do not re-marry although law allows them to do so. But popular opinion is gaining ground in favour of widows remarrying if they so choose. Divorce is not permissible under the Hindu Law.

A committee appointed by the Indian legislature and presided over by Sir B. N. Rau has recommended to overhaul the entire Hindu law including the laws of marriage and divorce. One of the important recommendations of this committee is that marriage should be strictly monogamous and divorce shall be allowed in

certain cases. Bigamous and multigamous marriages shall, according to this committee's recommendations, be penalised except in certain rare cases.

Some of the Indian states are far ahead of British India in the matter of social legislation. The reason is obvious. They are free while the irresponsible bureaucratic Government of British India fights shy of bold legislation lest it may displease the orthodox section. Baroda has already legislated for monogamous marriages. The public opinion strongly favours this reform as is evident from the storm of opposition raised against the action of the ruler of Baroda himself when in 1943 he contracted a second marriage during the life-time of his first Maharani against the law of his own State.

There is a strong feeling in the Hindu community that the laws of inheritance of and succession to property need considerable alterations. Women's rights in this respect are considered to be unfair to her sex. Widows, mothers, wives and daughters are all believed to be great sufferers. Raja Ram Mohan Rai had pointed out long ago that the origin of *Sati* could be traced to the hardships suffered by the widows in the matter of succession to property and inheritance. To leading a destitute life or to depending on her male relations who were sometimes not only unsympathetic but actually, hostile, for her maintenance she preferred to immolate herself on her husband's funeral pier. Even today Hindu woman has hardly any economic independence which

6 Property,
succession and
inheritance.

makes her in many cases a dumb sufferer, even though the law has been improved from time to time. The Rao Committee's recommendations and several private bills on the subject which are before the Indian legislature aim at securing for the Hindu woman her due position in the family and her right to inherit property.

Purdah has very nearly disappeared so far as towns are concerned. In villages also the higher and educated classes are steadily giving it up, so much so that caste and social conferences who used to treat this reform as an important plank in their proceedings do not now worry themselves on this subject. Even the All-India 'Womens' Conference has dropped this subject from its programme of activities.

Ancient Hindus never needed measures of birth control as their social and ethical systems laid great stress on *brahmacharya*, (sexual restraint) both for men and women. The two sexes met only to beget a son or one or two more children to fulfil religious obligation or for propagating the race. Sexual enjoyment never formed a part of their social code. Birth control by artificial means is a recent phenomenon imported from the West. Even there it has not yet been universally accepted as a beneficial measure. The Churches and orthodox people are still resisting it. Its aim was to give relief to women against the injurious effect on their health of excessive child bearing and prevention or checking of rapid

growth of population. Whether it has been able to solve the two problems is doubtful. Holland which was the first country in Europe to allow birth control education recorded the highest birth rate on the continent. Almost the same can be said of Russia. Artificial birth control measures have however resulted in pre- and extra-marital relations between the two sexes with impunity. In India, the movement has not so far been popular although some young men and women resort to it for purposes other than lawful

(ii) Muslim Social life.

✓ Muslims in India have their own social code, although they have, due to their contact with the Hindus for several centuries, adopted and assimilated many of their customs and even institutions just as the Hindus have assimilated much of the Muslim culture. Islam is, perhaps, the most democratic of all the religions. Two Musalmans whatever the difference in their social status, can pray together and eat and drink from out of the same plate or bowl. Mohammad says, "You are all brothers. All men are equal in the eyes of God. To-day I trample under my feet all distinctions of colour and nationality." But as, in all other societies, in the Muslim world also, practice has never been the same as precept. In Arabia itself where the Prophet preached and practised, a Musalman could take a slave girl as his wife but never gave his daughter in marriage to a slave boy. Certain sections of Muslims in India are as endogamous as the Hindus, for instance Kashmiri and

Rajput converts. All religions, so far as the principles go, are good but, human nature being what it is, there is always a gulf between precept and practice. There is one feature common to both Islam and Hinduism that religious and social practices are not separate. If a Hindu is, by his religion, barred from marrying a non-Hindu, so is a Musalman. Religion may be static but civilisation is dynamic. The latter changes with new discoveries in science and arts, with new developments in international relations and the like and if religion is mixed up with social life naturally there is a deadlock and advance becomes difficult. If Hindus and Musalmans both could effect complete divorce between purely religious and purely social life, many of the social and political evils of India would disappear in no time.

Yes, in spite of the democratic nature of Islam the Muslim community in India, and perhaps elsewhere also, is divided very much like castes and sub-castes in the same manner as the Hindus. There are not only Shias and Sunnis but there are Shaikhs, Syeds, Moghals and Pathans who do not usually intermarry and, like Hindus, have social gradations as well. There are, as among the Hindus, orthodox people in this community who believe in child marriages, polygamy, purdah system, dowry and similar institutions and there are reformers who are anxious to introduce reforms in these institutions. Close marriages among Musalmans, that is marriages between first and second

cousins is a problem on which opinions are divided. Scientists have declared, in no uncertain language, that such marriages are bound to result in physical and even mental deterioration of the race. Although there is nothing in their religion to prevent a widow from re-marrying, yet, among the higher classes, widow marriages are regarded as unrespectable. This is perhaps the result of their contact with the Hindus. It is easy for a Muslim male to divorce his wife in certain cases but in the case of a woman the procedure is complicated. *Purdah* is much stricter among Musalman women than among their Hindu sisters and, what is worse, the efforts of social reformers in removing purdah and allowing women the advantages of fresh air, social intercourse and high education have so far met with limited success. The position of women among the Musalmans is, in practice, much the same as among the Hindus although their religion allows them a better position.

(iii) Other Communities.

Among other communities the position of Sikhs is about the same as that of the Hindus. The Parsis are a small community absorbed mostly in business and confined to the presidency of Bombay. It is a community of enlightened people, educated and wealthy. In many of their religious customs they are as orthodox as the rest of the nation but socially they are much advanced. Their women do not observe purdah, there are no child marriages among them, no ill assorted

marriages either. Divorce is allowed both to men and women. There is no fanaticism of religion among them and the result is that they always live in peace with other communities.

Indian Christians form a community by themselves in India. In theory, they are supposed to follow the Christian customs. But as they are mostly converts from low class Hindus, most of the customs prevalent among the latter are found among them as well, so much so that in southern India the Christian convert from one caste avoids interdinning and intermarriage with that from another.

CHAPTER V

RELIGION AND RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS

(Religion ought to be the private affair of an individual.) But in reality, it is hardly the case anywhere. If it were so the world would have been spared of many wars and considerable bloodshed and other troubles. Religion permeates all activities. Religious views strongly held particularly by large groups react on all other aspects of life, social, political and intellectual. India is particularly the land of religions and religious convictions and consequently religious, social and cultural activities of Indian people are so inseparably linked together that it is impossible to consider and discuss the one without considering and discussing the others. The whole society is so largely organised on the basis of religion that every social practice is determined by the sanction of religion behind it. Whenever a change in social customs is suggested by a reformer there is a cry of "religion in danger". Even the raising of marriageable age of boys and girls by legislatures is resented by orthodox Hindus and Muslims on the ground that it is against their religion. Purdah system, widow marriage, death ceremonies and, sometimes, even diet and clothing are influenced by religion. This is why we have to discuss religious and social problem together.

The population of India is made up of Hindus,
 Classification of Muslims, Parsis, Christians, Jews, Bud-
 religions. dhists, Jains, Sikhs and some other
 non-descript sects. Between them, there are numerous
 sects and creeds such as, for instance, Kabir-panthis
 and Dadu-panthis, whom it is impossible to place with
 any degree of exactness in one or the other of these
 religions. In the Census of 1921 they were returned
 as Non-Hindus, since then they are generally included
 among the Hindus, although in the Census of 1931 some
 of them have been included in "Other religions" in the
 Bombay Presidency.

(i) Hindus

It is impossible to define the term 'Hindu' in its
 religious sense. As observed in the
 'Hindu' Defined. Census Report of India, 1931, Vol I
 "It is as much a social as a religious term and really
 denotes membership of a system of organised society
 with great latitude of religious beliefs and practices
 so that it is possible for a man to be Hindu socially
 and to have a religious belief shared with others who
 do not regard themselves as members of the same
 society; conversely, there is no compelling necessity
 that all others of his society should share his beliefs".
 Whereas all the other religions of the world owe their
 origin to and are named after outstanding individual
 personalities who laid down definitely their beliefs and
 demanded of their followers to remain loyal to those
 beliefs, there is no founder of Hinduism. The Hindu

religion is sometimes described as Sanatan, that is, without a beginning Belief in God may be an important feature of Hinduism but it is not essential Reverence for the Vedas is not necessary nor for the cow. Observance of the caste system is deprecated by large groups who call themselves Hindus. As a matter of fact, no single feature, tenet or practice is common to all Hindus. Babu Govind Das, therefore, laid down that one is a Hindu who calls himself a Hindu, but even this definition is obviously defective. Mrs Besant called herself a Hindu by faith but the Hindu community never recognised her as such. The Hindu Mahasabha regards him as a Hindu who professes a religion that took birth in India. According to this definition, Buddhists are Hindus. Commonly understood, however, a Hindu is one who believes in God, venerates the Vedas and belongs to one of the four varnas into which Hinduism is divided. With the latitude of freedom we have mentioned there is no wonder, that many personalities, great and strong, have appeared among the Hindus from time to time to re-establish the old Dharma whenever there were signs of its destruction. Hindus believe that God incarnates on earth to preach pure *dharma* when its existence is threatened by anti-religious factors. Shri Ram Chandra, Lord Shri Krishna and Lord Buddha are regarded as such *avatars* (incarnations). They have influenced Hindu thought to a very great degree. Chaitanya, Kabir, Guru Nanak, Tulsi Das, Surdas have

all moulded Hindu religious thought to a considerable extent. We cannot discuss the entire history of Hindu thought in this small book but we will have a resume of religious and social reform movements during the last two centuries or so.

We begin with Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833)

Ram Mohan Roy who is so often described as the father of Indian Renaissance. Ram Mohan Roy lived at that period of history when western civilisation and culture was making a deep impress on the minds of the Indian people, the British had begun to play the double role of founding their empire in India and of turning the heads of Indians against their own ancient religion and culture and Christian missionaries were preaching the superiority of their religion over Indian faiths. The Raja scented danger in these movements and determined to reform Hindu religion and society in a manner that the followers of that faith could hold their own against foreign missionary attacks. When he was only 16 years of age, he wrote, in Bengali, a pamphlet against idolatry and image worship and carried on, afterwards, a regular propaganda against this form of worship and against sacrificial rites. In 1820, he published "The Precepts of Jesus" in which he repudiated the divinity of Jesus but recommended and approved his ethical teachings. In 1827, he founded the British Indian Unitarian Institute which preached the unity of God and converted an influential Christian Baptist to Unitarianism.

But he soon discovered that the totally western outlook of this institution scared away many of his own close friends. He, therefore, founded in the following year, the Brahmo Samaj which was to be Indian in character. Its object was to preach a religion combining in itself the monotheism of Islam, the ethics of the New Testament, and the philosophy of the Upanishads which was, in his opinion, the true spirit of Hinduism. This orientation of the policy of the Brahmo Samaj attracted to it some of the best Hindus of Bengal and prevented, to some extent, the conversion of Hindus to Christianity as a result of missionary propaganda. He then turned his attention to the problem of social reform. His first action, in this field, was his propaganda against the obnoxious practice of sati, with the result that the practice was declared illegal by Lord William Bentinck in 1829. Ram Mohan Roy was probably the first Indian who demanded for Hindu widows the right of remarrying. He raised his strong voice against polygamy and concubinage. He denounced the caste system as it prevailed in India. He was the first high class Hindu to visit Europe and thus cross the seas. Above all, he was a believer in western education and in the cultivation of English language.

Since its foundation, the Brahmo Samaj has proved its utility in several directions. The number of its followers is, it is true, not legion but it has claimed among its members some of the top most men of

Bengal in every field of life. Of late, however, there has come into existence a feeling of revolt against the Samaj because of its western outlook and love of western culture and civilisation. It is openly accused for its deprecation of every thing in Indian culture. The Brahmo Samajists, on the other hand, declare that the present national mentality is the direct result of the study of western literature to which their contribution is not negligible. After the death of Ram Mohan Roy, the Samaj had two great personalities to lead it. Maharshi Devendranath Tagore and Keshava Chandra Sen, one a conservative and the other a radical. Both tried to mould the Samaj according to their own points of view with the inevitable result that two parties came into existence. Keshav had the zeal of a missionary, and was responsible for spreading the Brahmo Samaj in Madras and in Bombay where it assumed the name Prarthna Samaj. But, today, the Samaj is limited to Bengal and, even there, it claims about 5,000 members only. Whatever its shortcomings and defects it has to be remembered that Ram Mohan Roy and his Brahmo Samaj form the starting point for all the various reform movements, religious, social, educational and political which we see today in India.

/ If Ram Mohan Roy and his Brahmo Samaj appealed to the English educated elite, Swami Dayanand, who himself never knew English but was a scholar of

Swami Dayanand and Arya Samaj.

Sanskrit, and his Arya Samaj spoke to the masses. Swami Dayanand was born in 1824 in a very orthodox Brahman family of Gujrat, Kathiawar. At the age of 20 he left his home and parents in search of truth, assumed the garb of a *sanyasi* and the name by which he is known to the world. He now devoted all his time to the study of Sanskrit literature and the Vedas and in contemplation. He attended religious fairs, and held religious and literary discussions with learned pandits. He found that the whole fabric of Hindu society was shaken to its foundations. The thousands of castes and subcastes had produced disharmony among the people. The western literature, civilisation and culture had denationalised India to an awful extent. The Musalmans and the Christians were converting the Hindus to their faiths in large numbers. There was no entrance into the Hindu fold even if a non-Hindu sincerely believed in it. Dayanand did his utmost to restore Hindu religion to its ancient Vedic status. He deprecated the division of Hindu society in numberless castes but adhered to the ancient division of it into the four varnas. He was the first reformer of modern age who raised his voice against social inequalities and the religious disabilities of the untouchables and the depressed classes. "The Swami felt alarmed at the progressive decline in the population of the Hindus and to arrest it he asked them not only to take back into Hindu fold those who had, by mistake or by force, embraced non-Hindu

religions, but also to allow Muslims and Christians to embrace Hinduism".⁴

In 1875, he formally started the Arya Samaj in Bombay where he had kept in touch with the local Prarthna Samaj. It was also in Bombay that he published his great work *Satyarth Prakash* which expounded his doctrines. But it was in Lahore that the final revision of his doctrine took place in 1877. It was there and in the same year that he met a congenial group of persons ready to take it up (*Inter alia*, L. Lajpat Rai's father). It was here that the headquarters of the Arya Samaj were finally established and, ever since, the Punjab has been its real home. The Arya Samaj overwhelmed and absorbed the Brahmo Samaj at Lahore. This samaj has developed into a very important and a quite distinctive sect among the Hindus. Its doctrine is Vedas as interpreted by Dayanand. It has done excellent and far reaching work in the domain of social reform. Dayanand died in 1883 and left behind him a set of earnest workers, the most prominent of whom was L. Lajpat Rai, to carry on his mission. It was decided to perpetuate his memory by founding a school (now the Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College) the management of which was to remain in Arya Samaj hands while the teaching staff should consist only of Indians; nor were subsidies to be taken from the Government. The school was established in 1886

* *Sharma, Dayanand.*

Swami Shirdhanand founded, in 1902, another school, the Gurukul, on the banks of the Ganges at Harwar. This is one of the most remarkable educational institutions of the world. Boys of about seven enter and, for 16 years, live there under vows of poverty, chastity and obedience without ever leaving the place during that time or being allowed to meet their relations. They are entirely under the influence of their gurus who themselves are traditional *sanyasis*. The common language is Sanskrit and the most important discipline the Vedas. But English and modern sciences are also taught. The Samaj is foremost in its shuddhi work. Arya Samajists mostly live in the Punjab and the United Provinces.

Another body which influenced the religious and social réform movement in India during recent times is the Theosophical Society. Founded in 1875 by Madam Blavatsky (1831-1891) and Col. H. S. Olcott (1832-1917), this Society established a branch at Adyar (Madras) in 1896. Originally, the founders of the Society laid stress on occultism, on 'Buddhas' and on 'Mahatmas'. Of the two founders of the Society Madam Blavatsky concentrated her attention upon Greek and Egyptian mythology. Col. Olcott was the first to come out to India to establish the head-quarters of the society at Adyar and pay attention to India's religious life. It was another person, Mrs. Annie Besant, who made India her permanent home. Mrs. Besant (1847-1932) was an Irish lady, Christian by birth. While still

young, she renounced Christianity, separated from her husband and joined Bradlaugh who was an atheist. In 1882, she came in touch with Madam Blavatsky and with socialism. Vacillating for some time between the two, she ultimately joined the Theosophical Society in 1889. She came to India in 1893 at the age of 45 and lived in this country till her death in 1932 with the exception of short visits to Europe and America now and then. In India, Mrs Besant identified Theosophy with Hindu revival. She adopted not only Hindu faith but Hindu dress, Hindu food and Hindu manners. In one of her early lectures in 1893, she declared, before a Hindu audience, "I am an out-caste/ while still an out-caste I ought to sit at your feet." She had the rare gift of defending old Hindu customs and practices and, possessing as she did, a fiery eloquence, she had not to wait long before her speeches began to be liked and admitted by Hindus. In Madras where western education had made its greatest inroad and where the Brahmo and the Arya Samajes had not penetrated, the educated Madrasites were turning into atheists in ever increasing numbers. Naturally, Mrs. Besant's propaganda had the result of stemming that tide in the presidency. She was more devout than the most orthodox. She defended idol worship, she defended caste, she applauded the Vedas, the Upanishads and other religious books of the Hindus.*

* Although persons were not lacking who looked upon her activities with suspicion and even mistrust.

Her eloquence, her energy and her persistence prevailed and the result was that a number of educated Hindus became her followers, for whom her word became law. She established the Central Hindu School at Benares in order to train future generations in the principles and precepts of orthodox Hinduism. The school received encouragement from the public and has in course of time, developed into the present Benares Hindu University. The Theosophical Society has still its head-quarters at Adyar with Mr. G. S. Arundale as President. In India, its influence has considerably waned. But it has done some good to India. Being a non-sectarian movement, it has tried to reconcile the principles of various religions, to effect harmony in thinking and to bring peace between members of different religions. It has done considerable educational work. It has laid emphasis on the study of religion and ethics in schools and colleges. It has taught respect and reverence to indigenous religions when this respect and reverence was declining.

There have been many other societies and missions, both large and small, which have influenced Hindu thought in various ways. One of them is the Hindu Mahasabha. As a political organisation of the Hindus we shall speak of it later. But, in the field of religious and social reform, its activities have been not inconsiderable. It has preached the consolidation (*Sangathan*) of the Hindus by avoiding to emphasise their sectarian differences. By

The Hindu Mahasabha

defining a Hindu as a person who belongs to a religion founded in India it has tried to bring the Buddhists, into its fold. Taking its cue from the Arya Samaj and realising that the ranks of Hinduism were getting thinner owing to conversions and non-entry of non-Hindus in its fold it has popularised the Shuddhi movement, thus augmenting the number of Hindus. It has done a good deal in the uplift of the depressed classes. Whereas there is a large body of Hindus who are attached to the Hindu Mahasabha, there are others, no less numerous, who do not approve of its activities. They have perhaps no objection to its social reform activities but what they positively object to is the exacerbation of Hindu Muslim feeling sometimes excited by its activities.

Like the Brahmo Samaj, the Rama Krishna Mission movement has been predominantly Bengali both in its character and the field of its activities. Paramahansa Rama Krishna (1834-1886) founded this movement but it owes its popularity to a great disciple of Rama Krishna, Swami Vivekanand (1863-1902) who gave it its present life. The movement is based on Vedanta which Swami Vivekanand expounded not only in India but also in far off America where, in 1893, he attended the Parliament of Religions. His lectures in America attracted large audiences and, even to-day, an Indian Vedantist can successfully appeal to Americans. At present, the mission is chiefly engaged in social service,

such as maintenance of schools, orphanages and dispensaries which institutions are found even at some places outside Bengal. The great Indian Y. M. C. A. leader, the late Mr. K. T. Paul says "I see in the Rama Krishna movement the most living as well as the most characteristic expression of Indian nationalism." Truly centred on the Brahma Sutras, the Rama Krishna order has still taken a clear step forward by reading into Karma Yoga self-less service in the most human sense of the term. This teaching of Vedanta philosophy was, later, taken up by another Sanyasi of the Punjab, Swami Ram Tirtha. He also toured round India and visited Europe and America where, like Swami Vivekanand, he lectured to large audiences. His writings and speeches, the publication of which has been undertaken by the Ram Tirtha Publication League at Lucknow, under the guidance of one of his disciples, claim a large number of readers in America.

There have been individual personalities who have influenced Hindu thought in their own ways. Mahadeo Govind Ranade who established the Indian Social Conference is the most outstanding of them. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, G. K. Gokhale, L. Lajpat Rai, Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, Mahatma Gandhi have all put their impress on Hindu thought.

(ii) Jains and Buddhists.

There have been, as is natural, many movements with regard to the proper interpretation of the principles and practices associated with the Hindu religion.

There was a time, about 1600 B. C., which is known as the Brahmanic period, when priest-hood was predominant and rituals and sacrifices were regarded as essential for propitiating gods. There came a revolt against this practice of sacrifice and priest hood, the first signs of which appeared in the Upanishads, which produced a new outlook in the Hindu mind but kept the supremacy of the Brahman intact. Naturally the warrior caste produced heretics. There were several of them, but two have left their mark on history. These leaders were princes and had royalty to back them. They were Mahavira Jnatri-putra who with his eleven chief disciples, may be regarded as the first open seceders from Brahmanism, and Prince Gautama, son of Raja Suddhodana of Sakya clan. The former who lived from 599 to 527 B. C. was the founder of Jainism. As stated above, he was a royal prince. When his parents died, he, at the age of 30, renounced his raj, gave away all his property, became a sanyasi and began his search after truth. It is related that after 12 years of meditation he reached Nirvana or Kaivalya (emancipation). He now began to preach his new religion and succeeded in winning quite a number of converts. He did not believe in the existence of God. He said: "Man, thou art thy own friend. Why wishest thou for a friend beyond thyself." "The three gems which, according to the Jains, result in the spirit's attainment of deliverance are knowledge, faith and virtue or, literally, right knowledge, right intuition and right practices

Right knowledge is true knowledge of the relation of spirit and non-spirit (the world consists of two classes, spirit and non-spirit) the latter being as important as the former. Right intuition is absolute faith in the word of the master and declarations of Agamas or sacred texts. Right practice or virtue consists, according to the Yoga Shastra, in the correct five-fold conduct of one that has knowledge and faith in (1) non-injury, (2) kindness and speaking what is true (in so far as the truth is pleasant to the hearer), (3) honourable conduct, typified by 'not stealing', (4) chastity in word, thought and deed, (5) renunciation of earthly interests'.* The Jain^s lay the largest emphasis on non-injury (*ahimsa*) which found only a restricted approval of the Brahmins. For instance, the latter allowed killing of animals for sacrificial objects, but the Jains called even such Brahmins as murderers. The Ahimsa doctrine has gone even to such a length that members of a particular sect walk with *covers on their mouths* lest they inhale living microbes and strain water before drinking and do not light lamps at night. Jains do not believe in Gods, they avoid to employ a language which may be interpreted to admit the existence of divine beings. But paradoxical as it may appear, they have now come to worship Mahavira himself as a god.† There are two sects among the Jains, the Swetambars

* Hopkins: Religions of India

† Their pantheon consists of twenty-four Tirthankars (the emancipated souls) who are all regarded as gods

and the Digambars. The former do not go naked, nor worship naked idols. They believe in forty-five or forty-six Agamas, eleven or twelve Angas, twelve Upan-gas and the other scriptures of the third or fourth century B C as they claim. They admit women in their orders. The Digambars do not admit women, worship naked idols and go naked and have for sacred literature later texts of the 5th century A. D., considering the sacred texts of the Svetambars as spurious. There are other sub-sects also.

There are indications of a tendency to change and reform among the Jains. The educated members of this community live and act just like other educated Hindus except in their mode of worship and other private religious observances. The nudity cult of Digambar Jains receives scant courtesy at the hands of the educated section of the community. The practice of initiation of minors as religious ascetics (Munis) is on the decline.

The Jain community is gradually decreasing in number proportionately to the population of the country as a whole. This is probably due in part to the practice of child marriage and prohibition of widow re-marriage and partly also to the small size of the community which attracting as it does no adherents from outside cannot increase at the same rate as much larger ones. Dr. Guha suggests with some force that the Jains have a lowered fertility and an increased infant mortality rate on account of their division into small

endogamous groups some of which in Ahmedabad do not exceed 500 souls.*✓

Buddhism represents another reaction against Brahmanism which took place almost at the same time as Jainism. This was established by Prince Siddhartha or Gautam who, later, called himself Buddha (Awakened.) He developed a religious tendency even when he was young. He was 29 when he felt distressed by seeing pitiable examples of old age, sickness, sorrow and death. He made up his mind to renounce the world and despite his father's tears and his wife's entreaties left his home, gave up all possessions and devoted himself to concentration of thought and asceticism. Thus 'he endeavoured to discover some means by which he might avoid a recurrence of life of which the disagreeable side in his estimation out-weighed the joy' for he thought 'whence comes peace? When the fire of desire is extinguished, when the fire of hate is extinguished, when all sins and all sorrows extinguished, then comes peace.' After 7 years, he discarded his teachers and wandered about in Magadh till he came to Buddha Gaya. Here he found that the methods pursued by him so far did not produce the desired effect. He resorted to another method—self-torture. He denied himself food and drink for sometime. Even this did not do and he gave up starvation. Five other ascetics who had similarly given up food and who called themselves his disciples deserted him. He did not care. He sat

*Census Report of India, 1931

beneath the sacred fig tree and lo! he became illumined. He became Buddha.

The wisdom of Buddha is thus described:—

- I. Birth is sorrow, age is sorrow, sickness is sorrow, death is sorrow, clinging to earthly things is sorrow.
- II. Birth and re-birth, the chain of re incarnations, results from thirst for life together with passion and desire.
- III. The only escape from this thirst is the annihilation of desire.
- IV. The only way of escape from this thirst is by following the eight-fold path, right belief, right resolve, right word, right act, right life, right effort, right thinking, right meditation.

Buddha began to preach these truths at Benares, dedicated his life to conversion of others to his own faith and succeeded to a large extent. He attached the greatest importance to purity of heart and said: "He that is pure in heart is the true priest, not he who knows the Vedas. Mortification of flesh is no good, asceticism is of no value. Be pure, be good, this is the foundation of wisdom, to restrain desire, to be satisfied with little. He is the holy man who doeth this, knowledge follows this." Buddha added: "Go into all lands and preach this gospel, tell them that the poor and the lowly, the rich and the high are all one and that all castes unite in this religion as the rivers in the sea."

This is the essence of Buddhism. Buddha died in 477 B. C. The history of Buddhism after the founder's death is easily told. It was largely a political growth. Asoka adopted Buddhism as a state religion in the 3rd century B. C., sent missionaries all over the country and beyond to preach it. It was spread far into Ceylon, China, and Tibet by Turanians who adopted it in India. It lingered in India till the twelfth or the thirteenth century. Today it is found in Tibet, Ceylon, China, Japan and other outlying regions but it has practically disappeared from its original home. Hopkins describes the cause of extinction of Buddhism in India thus "The Buddhist victorious was not the modest and devout mendicant of the early church. The fire of hate, lighted if at all by Buddhism, smouldered till Brahmanism in the form of Hinduism had begotten a religion as popular as Buddhism, or rather far more popular, and for two reasons, Buddhism had no such picturesque tales as those that enveloped with poetry the history of the man-god Krishna. Again, Buddhism in its monastic development had separated itself more and more from the people. Not mendicant monks, urging to a pure life, but opulent churches with fat priests, not simple discourses calculated to awaken the moral and religious consciousness, but subtle arguments on discipline and metaphysics were now what Buddhism represented. This religion has become, indeed, as much a skeleton as was the Brahmanism of the sixth century. As the Brahmanic belief had

decomposed into spiritless rites, so Buddhism, changed into dialectics and idolatry (for in lieu of a god the later church worshipped Buddha), had lost now all hold upon the people. The love of man, the spirit of Buddhism, was dead and Buddhism crumbled into the dust. Vital and energetic was the sectarian 'love of God' alone (Hinduism), and this now became triumphant. Where Buddhism has succeeded is not where the man-gods, object of love and fear, have entered; but where, without rivalry from more sympathetic beliefs, it has itself evolved a system of idolatry and superstition; where all that was scorned by the Master is regarded as holiest, and all that he insisted upon as vital is *disregarded*. One speaks of the millions of Buddhists in the world as one speaks of the millions of Christians; but while there are some Christians that have renounced the bigotry and idolatry of the church, and hold to the truth as it is in the words of Christ, there are still fewer Buddhists who know that their Buddhism would have been rebuked scornfully by its founder."

The literature of early Buddhism consists of historical works which embody the life and teachings of the Master. All these works are collected in what is called *Tripitak*, the three baskets, one laying down rules of discipline, another talks of Buddha and the third of metaphysics of Buddhism and are called respectively *Vinaya*, *Sutta* and *Abhidhamme*. They are in Pali script.

There is much in common between Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism, the former two being only offshoots of the latter, discarding a few principles and retaining the rest. Both Buddhists and Jains like the Hindus believe in re-incarnation and re-birth. All the three insist on the ahimsa doctrine, the Hindus making exception in the case of sacrifices to Gods. The Jains carry this doctrine to great lengths. Asceticism is admired by Hindus and Jains but it is repudiated by the Buddhists. The Nirvana of the Jains is somewhat different from that of the Buddhists. The former is escape from the body while the latter is escape from existence. The Jains and Buddhists do not believe in the Vedas as the source of their respective religions as the Hindus do. The Hindu lays emphasis on knowledge, the Jain on asceticism and the Buddhist on purity and love. The ten vows and the eight commandments of Buddha or at any rate, the principles underlying them are common to Jainism and Buddhism.

Quite a large number of Buddhists in India regard themselves as Hindus. The session of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha held at Cawnpore in April, 1936, was presided over by Rev. U. Ottama, a Burmese Buddhist, and was attended by a number of other Buddhists from Ceylon and Japan. The Buddhist President in his address claimed that the Buddhists were nothing but Hindus, there being only slight variations in their mode of worship; the code of ethics and morality of the Hindus and the Buddhists being almost identical.

(iii) Sikhs

Sikhs (the name is supposed to be identical with Sanskrit Shishya—a disciple) are mostly found in the Punjab, although their number is not insignificant in large towns of other provinces where they have migrated in search of employment. Sikhism was founded by Guru Nanak who was born, in 1469, of common village parents of Kshatriya caste, near Lahore. It denotes another revolt against the dogmas, rituals and superstitions of the Brahmanic faith and seeks to synthesise Hinduism and Islam. Ideas of revolt and reform against ceremonial and social restrictions associated with orthodox Hinduism and of the common basis, in their pristine glory of Hinduism and Islam had already been given expression to before Nanak, by such saints as Jai Deva, Ramanand, Dadu and Kabir who all denounced idolatry and ritualistic practices of the Hindus. The doctrines preached by these reformers contained the germs of Sikhism. Guru Nanak was a bolder man and gave a definite name and shape to these doctrines. Nanak, in his philosophy of religion, was largely influenced by the circumstances around him, in the same way as Buddha was before and Dayanand after him. He was at a place where and at a time when Islam had already got some hold on the people and Hinduism, with all its rituals and divisions, had begun to lose ground. He preached that there was in reality no Hindu and no Musalman. He preached the existence of one God who is neither

the Allah of Musalmans nor the Ram of Hindus, who is the God of the entire universe, of all mankind. "There is but one God" he laid down "the creator whose name is true (*Sat nam*), devoid of fear and enmity, immortal, unborn, self-existent, great and beautiful." He deprecated religious asceticism and pilgrimages to holy places as hypocrisy pure and simple, and laid stress on purity of heart. He believed in and preached equality between man and man and thus abrogated caste distinctions. He was successful in converting a number of Hindus and Mohammedans to his faith. The popularity of his doctrines is proved by the fact that when he died in 1538, Hindus and Mohammedans both claimed his dead body for cremation or burial according to their respective faiths and the tradition is that when the covering *chaddar* was removed there was no dead body found under it. What was found were flowers only which were taken by the persons present as *prasad* or *tabarruk* and the *chaddar* was torn in two pieces one to be burnt by the Hindus and the other to be buried by the Musalmans.

Guru Nanak died in 1535 and was succeeded by nine Gurus in succession. Guru Govind Singh gave the Sikhs their present martial spirit and character because he had to fight out the very existence of Sikhs against the persecution of Moghal rulers, particularly of Aurangzeb. He felt the necessity of large numbers and a strong organisation and of infusing, in his religion, a martial and political spirit. He preached

the Khalsa, the pure, and his followers are known by that name today. To augment the number of his followers, he instituted a ceremony of initiation with baptismal holy water by which others could be taken into the Sikh religion. As an outward symbol of his faith, he enjoined upon his followers the five *Ka's* i.e. Kes (hair un-cut), Kachha (short drawers), Karas (iron bangles), Khanda, Khasda or Kirpan (steel dagger or knife) and Kangha (comb), and advised them to add 'Singh (Lion)' after their names. He prohibited the use of tobacco in any form; gave his followers the watch-word or war-cry of "*Sri Wah Guru Ji ka Khalsa, Sri Wah Guruji ki Fateh*" and enjoined upon them reverence for the Granth Saheb, their sacred book. This military spirit and organisation was naturally resented by the contemporary Muslim rulers as they smelt in this movement a danger to their rule. A battle was fought. The Sikh army was routed and two sons of Guru Govind were put to sword at Sirhind by the Muslim Governor of that fortress. Guru Govind Singh himself was assassinated at Nander in the Deccan in 1708. He was thus the last Guru having no sons left to succeed him. He therefore bestowed the Guruship in the Granth Saheb and his sect. Sikhism has stood where Guru Govind Singh left it save for minor alterations in details here and there. Sikhism was at its height under the military genius of Ranjit Singh. When the British conquered the Punjab, the military power of the Sikhs came to an end.

The large centres of the Sikh population are the Phulkian States of Patiala, Nabha and Jind and the neighbouring districts of Ludhiana, Lahore, Amritsar, Jullunder and Gujranwala.

Truly speaking, Sikhs are only a sect of the Hindus. Their names, their mode of living, their traditions are all Hindu. While some members of the community call themselves Hindus, the rest prefer to be called Sikhs not because they resent the former title but because the present political dispensation is more favourable to Sikhs than to Hindus. The whole Hindu community in some parts of the Punjab has assumed the name of Sikh because there is an impression that there was something to be gained by belonging to a community comparatively speaking little represented in Government services and cases are actually reported in which some sons are brought up as Hindus and others as Sikhs so as to better the opportunities of the family as a whole in the search for posts under the Government.* The population of Sikhs has been growing from decade to decade. Their fertility is probably higher than that of Hindus on account of late marriages and the free marriage of widows.

(iv) Musalmans.

Islam, which literally means resigning oneself to God, is the name of the religion established by Muhammad originally in Arabia. The doctrines and practices of Islam are contained in the book of Koran

* Census Report, 1931.

which is supposed to have been revealed to Muhammad; in Hadis which is a collection of traditions containing the sayings and doings of the Prophet, the use of Analogy (Kayas) as applied to the above two and the universal consent of the believers. The duties of a true follower of Islam consist in reciting of Kalma, the recital of prayers (Namaz), the fast (Roza) during the month of Ramazan, alms-giving (Zakat) and pilgrimage (Haj).

Islam, like other religions, is the product of time and surroundings. At the time when Muhammad was born and lived, there were four religions practised in Arabia. The majority of the Arabs were Heathens, who worshipped idols or nature. Sun, moon and stars were worshipped. Certain stones, wells and trees were regarded as sacred and deified. Hobal was the chief God of the Kaba in Mecca with its sacred stone but round him were grouped a number of other tribal idols. The other three religions were Judaism, Christianity and Zoroastrianism, the followers of which were not numerous. These people quarrelled among themselves all their lives. Muhammad desired to stop these quarrels, which sometimes resulted even in loss of life, by inviting them under one banner. Till the age of 40, he was absorbed in thinking out a common formula which he found at last in the doctrines of Islam as preached by him. As is usual, he was persecuted by non believers and he had once to run away for his life from Mecca to Medina which event is called Hijrat. He preached his new religion in Medina and,

in course of time, secured a number of followers. Mecca became soon reconciled to his teachings. He died in 332 A.D. at the age of 62.

"What did Muhammad bring to the world and wherein lies his immortal service to humanity?" asks S. Khuda Baksh and he thus answers it —

"To a people steeped in grossest form of fetishism he brought a pure and uncompromising monotheism. belief in one God, the creator of the universe and indeed this gift was meant for the whole mankind. But with this much valued gift he bestowed another, of no less importance in the history of human belief and human morals. He awakened in man idea of his responsibility to his Creator. To the Pre-Islamic Arab it was the immediate present which was of importance and of real consequence. He cared not for the past nor did he show any interest in the future.....Muhammad opened the eyes of humanity to the fact that man was a rational being endowed with the gift of understanding, was a responsible being fully accountable to the Almighty for deeds and misdeeds,man henceforth became a moral being".

"Nor can we forget the sublime idea," the same writer continues "of brotherhood in faith which he, for the first time, introduced into the world. All Muslims were brothers. There was to be no wall of division, no difference to be founded on the score of nationality and no distinction begotten of colour.

Islam truly realised "the parliament of men, the federation of the world".

Islam came into India in 712 A.D. with the conquest of Sindh. Then came Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni whose name is associated with the destruction of temples and breaking of Hindu idols, with loots and with massacres. But Mahmud came, plundered and went back. Muhammad Ghor's conquest (1193 A.D) established Mohammadan rule and, since then, conversion of Hindus to Islam has been considerable.

There are a number of sects among Mohammadans in India such as Sunnis who believe in Hadis, Shias who reject the first three Imams, who observe Moharram in memory of the martyrdom of Hasan and Husain, descendants of Ali; Sufis who are like Hindu Vedantists. Then, again, they are divided into Shaiks, Syeds, Moghals, Pathans which have grades like Hindu castes. We have discussed the social life of Indian Musalmans in the previous chapter and we will not, therefore, repeat it here.

(v) Christians

Christianity is the religion which accepts Jesus Christ as Lord and Savior and is one of the leading religions of the world. It was founded in Asia by Jesus Christ of Nazareth in ancient Galilee. Jesus was the son of a carpenter and his wife, Joseph and Mary. He was, thus, one of the common people but a unique personality. He was, from his childhood, of a religious bent of mind. He revolted against

certain beliefs and observances of the people amidst whom he was born. At the age of 30, he joined his cousin, John the Baptist, in his movements of religious and moral reforms. He retired and meditated for some time and was convinced that he was to fulfil a mission of God. He became a public preacher himself when John was imprisoned. He was considered a revolutionary by the Jews and was persecuted and ultimately crucified by the Roman authorities on the charge that he called himself son of God. He preached a religion which laid much greater emphasis on morality than on theology. He was not concerned with speculative questions about God, nor with abstract theories of his relationship to the soul or to the world. God's continual presence, His fatherly love, His transcendental righteousness, His mercy, His goodness were the facts of immediate experience. Jesus believed in doing good, in relieving distress, in befriending and solacing the poor and the sick. This led to his acceptance by those who were condemned and rejection by the self-styled respectable and religious classes not because the former sinned but because they were poor or sick or could not say ditto to their superiors. After his death, nothing remained of his work. But faith in his teachings was restored by his resurrection from death and his re-appearance to his disciples. This was the basis of the Christian Church and the starting point of its theology. Now he became to his followers, the Messiah, the Christ.

The famous ten commandments to which all Christian pay homage are given below :—

- (1) Thou shalt have no other gods before me.
- (2) Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image.
- (3) Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them.
- (4) Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord, thy God, in vain.
- (5) Honour thy father and thy mother.
- (6) Thou shalt not kill.
- (7) Thou shalt not commit adultery.
- (8) Thou shalt not steal.
- (9) Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.
- (10) Thou shalt not cover thy neighbour's house.

Paul of Tarsus (50-65 A. D.) took up the work of organising the movement of popularising Christianity and its teachings. It soon spread in all parts of Europe and later, in other parts of the world. Although Christianity accepted many beliefs held by Judas such as the Judgment Day, Paradise and Hell, the conception of God by Christians is most noble and exalted. He is, like the God of the Hindus, all seeing, all knowing, all-pervading, holy, just, merciful but he is regarded as the most forgiving also. Christianity expects man also to be forgiving and to return good for evil.

Christians believe in proselytising. They have a number of societies in Europe and America, subsidised both by the states and the public, whose chief object is to convert other people to Christianity.

(vi) Parsis

Parsis who number 114890 in India, according to the Census of 1941, are Zoroastrians, the religion introduced by Zoroaster or Zoroaster or Zoroasthrast who lived in Persia in about 800 B. C. He was either a Mede or a Bactrian and was a man of extraordinary personality. Tradition has it that there were miraculous signs at his birth, that, by his wisdom even as a child, he was able to confound the magi and that he was borne up to the highest heaven and given the sacred word of life from the Deity. At fifteen, he vowed to lead a religious life. At twenty, he left his home in search of religion. He commenced teaching at the age of 30 and died at the age of seventy. The religion he founded was the national religion of the Persians from about 550 B. C. to the middle of the 6th century A. D. In about 637 A.D., Arab Mohammedans invaded Persia and converted most of the people to Islam. A number of faithful followers of Zoroastrianism came to India where they settled for good. This community is now confined only to India where its members are known as Parsis. The religion of the Parsis is a practical ethical doctrine inculcating active charity, kindness to animals and moral conduct generally. The central feature of the religion is worship of fire which is regarded as the earthly symbol of the great deity. Their code of morality and ethics is as sublime as that of any other religion.

There is no such thing as caste distinctions among the Parsis. They do not believe in proselytising

or religious fanaticism. They live in peace and harmony with their neighbours of other faiths and are mostly engaged in business for which they have evinced considerable talent. They have given to India not only business and commercial magnates but some of the greatest political leaders. If Tatas and Pochkwallas are the greatest industrial and commercial princes, Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Dinshaw Wacha, Mr. Saklatwala, Sir Cowasji Jehangir, have been or are great leaders of political thought in India. The Census Report of 1931 observes:—The Parsis are declining in numbers in proportion to the population as a whole and it is possible in their case fertility may be lowered by too much in-breeding."

(vii) Other Religions

We have considered the important religious communities residing in India. There are other religions as well but their adherents are few in number; for instance, Jews whose entire population in India is 12000 persons, and the bulk of whom are found in the Bombay Presidency and in Cochin. Like the Parsis, they are a close body and do not believe in conversion of others to their faith.

There are other tribes here and there in the country with no particular religion. These communities are, in fact, losing ground as they are being absorbed by other religions, Hinduism, Christianity and Islam.

CHAPTER VI

POLITICAL AND NATIONAL MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

Before the British came to and settled in India there was, apart from village republics, trade guilds and caste panchayats, practically no public life as it is understood today, at any rate, no political life in the people as distinguished from kings, rulers and the nobility who were directly concerned with the administration. When the East India Company acquired, in 1765, governmental powers through the generosity of the then Emperor of India, the British Government began to take notice of the deeds and misdeeds of that body. Burke's impeachment of Warren Hastings, although eventually unsuccessful, demonstrated to India that even the highest British rulers in this country could not misbehave with impunity. His sentence, "Great empires and small minds go ill together", is still quoted freely by Indian politicians. In 1832, the great Reform Act was passed in England. The Directors of the East India Company had to adjust their administrative policy in India to the British atmosphere. Bentinck as the Governor-General and Munro and Elphinstone as Governors of Presidencies introduced several reforms in the administration of this country and generally followed a progressive policy. In 1833, the Company closed up its

commercial business and assumed the administration of its Indian territorial possessions. Statesmen were not wanting in England who, even at that time, condemned the arrangement of administration of an immense empire by a joint stock company as 'atrocious'. But the Charter was renewed, in 1833, the Parliament taking good care to liberalise the Company's administration by insisting in the Act in emphatic language that "fitness is henceforth to be the criterion of eligibility" and "that no native of the said territories nor any natural born subject of His Majesty resident there shall, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them, be disabled for holding any place or employment under the said Company." The Company's Charter was next to be renewed in 1853. During the intervening period many important events occurred in India. Lord Auckland, Lord Ellenborough and Lord Harding's regimes were crowded with wars now with Afghanistan, now with Sikhs and so on which created general dissatisfaction. Lord Dalhousie's regime became notorious for its wars and annexations which could not but create alarm in the Indian mind. His "doctrine of lapse" added, no doubt, to the area of British possessions; but the policy when applied to such principalities as Nagpur, Satara and Jhansi alienated the Mahrattas. Discontent—among the educated middle classes was aggravated by the fact that the policy, embodied in the Act of 1833, of appointment of Indians to high posts which had created high

hopes, was never translated into practice. During the 20 years not a single Indian was appointed to any responsible post. The result was that when the time came for the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1853 all classes of Indians opposed the renewal. "Inhabitants of the three presidencies sent signed petitions to the Parliament against the granting of any extension to the Company. The Bengal petition asked for the abolition of the double system and the appointment of a Secretary of State and an Indian Council, partly elected and partly nominated, in its place, for the creation of a separate legislature for India; for making the Governor-General act with the consent of his Council; for giving a sort of provincial autonomy to the presidencies, for *increasing the salaries of men in subordinate services* and decreasing those of men in higher offices, and for throwing the civil services open to all British subjects which should be recruited by means of competitive examinations" These were the first manifestations of awakening of public life in India. The Charter was renewed but not without considerable modifications Lord Dalhousie's policy of annexations however continued unabated. Oudh was annexed in 1856. Wars had already created resentment in the martial communities. The ill concealed contemptuous treatment of the Moghal Emperor stirred the Muslim community. The universally pent-up feelings found expression in the general and armed revolt of 1857 which is known as the Indian Mutiny and which is, sometimes, spoken

of as the First War of Indian Independence. It was eventually suppressed and the leaders of the revolt were mercilessly punished. Peace was restored but the atrocities perpetrated on both sides left behind them the sad legacy of racial bitterness which has survived even to this day.

With the suppression of the Mutiny, the Company's rule came to an end and the administration of the country was assumed directly by the British Crown. Queen Victoria lost no time in issuing a Royal Proclamation which, *inter alia*, stated: "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects and it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service the duties of which they may be qualified by their educational ability and integrity duly to discharge." The new sovereign tried to placate the Indian princes "whose rights, dignity and honour we shall respect as our own". Further a desire was expressed "of no extension of our territorial possession." In spite of such noble declarations of the sovereign the average Indian was suspected. ✓ Mr. W. S. Blunt observed, in 1883, that "the programme outlined in the Declaration of 1858 caused a real outburst of loyalty to the English Crown which has hardly yet subsided." He added, however, rather caustically, "Its only fault, indeed, has been that it has never been carried out." ✓

Theoretically, even the Civil Service was thrown open to Indians but what was given by the right hand was taken back by the left. The examination for entry into the civil service was held exclusively in England and as if this was not in itself a sufficient check, the Indian candidates were even discouraged and disqualified on one ground or another. Babu (later Sir) Surendra Nath Banerji and Mr. Arabindo Ghose were disqualified on technical grounds. In 1877, the age limit for this examination was reduced from 19 to 17, thus making it well nigh impossible for Indian candidates to compete for this examination. Surendra Nath Banerji took up the matter, started an agitation, toured round India, made speeches, collected funds and sent a deputation to England with an all-India memorial addressed to the House of Commons. Lord Lytton, who came to India in 1876 as Viceroy, made the situation worse. His régime was full of acts which drove the whole of India almost to desperation. He held the Imperial Darbar of 1877 for proclaiming Queen Victoria as the Empress of India. The new title had the effect of depressing the spirit of Indian rulers whose position was now changed from allies to vassals. Besides, the darbar was held at a time when a severe famine was prevailing in India which gave occasion to a Calcutta journalist to remark: "Nero fiddled when Rome was burning." "The wanton invasion of Kabul followed by the second Afghan War, the large increase of the army under the hallucination

of the Russian bug-bear, the costly establishment of a 'scientific frontier,' the complete disarming of an in-offensive and helpless population, although the Eurasians were untouched, the gagging of the Vernacular Press,the sacrifice of the import cotton duties as a conservative sop to Lancashire and an unmerited and undignified rebuff administered personally to a leading association in the country"* and similar other acts and policies created a storm of opposition among Indians and led to the organisation of political associations to carry on agitation and propaganda among the people in defence of their rights as citizens. In the words of Sir William Wedderburn, "the state of things at the end of Lord Lytton's regime was bordering on revolution." The Indian Association which was founded by Surendra Nath Banerji in 1876 to represent the views of the educated middle class community and inspire them with a living interest in public affairs and to be the centre of an all-India movement "took upon itself the task of carrying on an agitation in order to get the Indian grievances redressed. Lord Ripon succeeded Lord Lytton and his regime gave a new turn to Indian political agitation." His policy was a liberal one and although he could not achieve much, his noble attempts to do good to India were appreciated. The whole of India with one voice expressed her appreciation but what was left undone by the Viceroy was accomplished by the European and Anglo-Indian

* A. C. Mazumdar.

officials and non-officials. Surendra Nath Banerji's imprisonment for 2 months in a contempt of court case had perturbed Bengal but the mischievous and almost petty-minded and offensive agitation on the part of the Anglo-Indian population of India over the Ilbert Bill taught a lesson to India. The organisation of European Defence Association and establishment of a Fund for carrying out its objects led to the organisation of a parallel All-India movement and the creation of a National Fund. A National Conference was accordingly held in Calcutta in December, 1883, in which many prominent personalities took part. Conferences were similarly held in other provinces, old institutions were revived and new institutions were formed where none existed before. The Indian press became more vigilant and urged the necessity of unity and organisation of the whole country.

(i) National Organisations

In March, 1883, Mr. Allen Octavian Hume, a distinguished retired British official, addressed an open letter to the graduates of the Calcutta University appealing to them to volunteer their services in the cause of the country and urging them "to organise an association for the moral, mental, social and political regeneration of the people of India, a little army *au generis* in discipline and equipment." The result was that "in December, 1884, "seventeen good men and true" from all parts of India, most of whom had gone to Adyar to attend the

(1) The Congress.

Theosophical Convention, met at the house of Dewan Bahadur Raghunath Rao and resolved to form themselves into a "group of provisional committeemen from different towns, to win others, each in his place, and to meet later for further consultation".*

✓ An Indian National Union was formed in March, 1885, which decided to hold a meeting of representatives from all parts of India at Poona in the following December in order (1) to enable all the most earnest labourers in the cause of national progress to become personally known to each other, (2) to discuss and decide upon the political operations to be undertaken during the ensuing year. It was added in the letter of invitation issued that "incidentally this conference will form the germ of a National Parliament and, if properly conducted, constitute in a few years, an unanswerable reply to the accusation that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institutions. Hume was placed in charge of organising the conference. He consulted Lord Dufferin, the then Viceroy, who welcomed the idea as such an organisation was, in his opinion, needed to perform the functions of Her Majesty's opposition in India. Mr. Hume went to England to consult politicians there and came back full of hopes. The first Congress met in Bombay to which the venue was changed owing to outbreak of cholera at Poona. On 27th December, 1885, 72 delegates from all parts of the country

* Mrs. Besant: *How India Wrought for Freedom*.

participated in the deliberations. It must be mentioned here that several British officials attended the meeting, and took part in deliberations thus showing their sympathy with the movement.

Thus was ushered into existence the great Indian National Congress which has played and is still playing the most important part in the political regeneration of India. The Third session of the Congress was held at Madras in 1887. In this Congress, a delegate from Bengal gave notice of a resolution urging the prohibition of cow slaughter. The resolution was regarded by many delegates as inopportune specially as a section of the Muslim community under the lead of Sir Syed Ahmad had already kept aloof from the Congress. The Congress after considerable discussion decided—the decision has been since recognised as a convention—that if any resolution affecting a particular class or community was objected to by the delegates representing that community, even if they were in a minority, it should not be considered by the Congress. The resolution was not considered. The Congress met year after year at different places attracting larger and larger numbers of delegates. By its propaganda in India and in England it succeeded in getting the reforms of 1892 enacted which, although falling much short of country's expectations, did concede some rights. But the younger generation was getting impatient. They thought that, at this rate, India may take several centuries before it gets any thing like

responsible government or swaraj). In 1896, India was visited by plague and a severe famine. Bal Gangadhar Tilak organised, in the Deccan a no-tax campaign on the ground that people could not afford to pay the taxes. He also condemned in strong language the measures taken by the Government to check the spread of plague in 1897. Just at this time, two British officials at Poona were murdered. Tilak was arrested and sentenced to 18 months rigorous imprisonment on the charge that his speeches and writings had inflamed the murderer to commit the foul deed. The Indian Penal and Criminal Procedure Codes were amended so as to give greater powers to the police and the magistracy to deal expeditiously with dangerous persons. A Seditious Meetings Act was also passed. Feelings were exacerbated on both sides. Lord Curzon came to India in 1898 as Viceroy and Governor-General. His regime of 7 years of "missions, omissions and commissions," intensified the already tense situation. His reckless expenditure on the Delhi Darbar, his educational policy, his open contempt of Indian culture and civilisation, and above all, his partition of Bengal tried the patience of even the most moderate of Indians. The result was that the method of political work in India changed. Indian political propaganda which till now consisted only in holding of meetings, making of speeches, passing of resolutions and waiting of deputations on high officials was given a different turn. A campaign of boycott of British

goods was started, Swadeshi was popularised and altogether an emotional atmosphere was created. In the Congress of 1905, an entirely new spirit was visible. Tilak who was considered to be an extremist was the most popular figure. He was given an ovation when he rose to speak on direct action. The whole year of 1906 was a year of stormy agitation. When the Congress met in Calcutta in December 1906, under the presidentship of Dadabhai Naoroji the new party of which the leaders were Tilak, Bipan Chandra Pal and L. Lajpat Rai (Bal, Pal and Lal) was present in large numbers and openly ridiculed the moderation of the moderate leaders and preached the replacement of the British bureaucracy by a swadeshi government. An open rupture between the so-called extremists and moderates was prevented by the tactful handling of the situation by the president who declared that the goal of the Congress was swaraj, as distinguished from self government within the British Empire. The next Congress met at Surat. There was a tug of war between the extremists led by Tilak and the moderates led by Gokhale. There was confusion and the meeting was broken. On the following day, 900 delegates met in a convention and appointed a committee to draw up a constitution of the Congress and resolved that in future only those ready to submit to it in writing would be admitted as delegates. The committee met at Allahabad and drafted a constitution which was adopted in the following year. The article

1 of this Constitution was known as the creed of the Congress. It ran: "The objects of the Indian National Congress are the attainment by the people of India of a system of government similar to that enjoyed by the self-governing members of the British Empire and a participation by them in the rights and responsibilities of Empire on equal terms with those members. These objects are to be achieved by constitutional means by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration, by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit and developing and organising the intellectual, moral, industrial and economic resources of the country". This excluded the extremists from the Congress. The Governments in India and in England felt happy at the turn events thus took. But the happiness was short-lived. In order to rally the Moderates to its side, Government promised some reforms. The extremists were ruthlessly repressed. But repression fed the flame of extremism which grew extremer still. The cult of bomb and pistol made its appearance. Several officials and others were murdered and it appeared that the situation was getting extremely grave.

The government now thought of further reforms. But, before the proposals of Morley-Minto scheme of reforms were even put on paper, the government was successful in driving a wedge between the Indian people. Sir Bamfield Fuller, Lieutenant-Governor of the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam declared publicly that he had two wives, one Hindu and

the other Muslim and that the Muslim was his favourite-wife. The Muslims were made to feel that they had only to formulate certain demands *for exclusive benefit of their own community* to be conceded to by the government. The Muslims succumbed to this temptation. An all India deputation waited on Lord Minto and demanded, among other concessions, separate-communal representation in the legislatures and local bodies. Lord Minto found himself "entirely in accord with the deputationists" and added: "I am as firmly convinced as I believe you to be that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to *mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the belief and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent*". These pourparlours ended in the establishment of a separate Muslim organisation—All-India Muslim League—in 1906 under the leadership of H. H. the Aga Khan who stood in high favour of the government. This League was to serve as a counterpoise to the Indian National Congress. We shall speak of the activities of the Muslim League later.

The Morley-Minto Reforms with separate electorates for the Muslims were ushered in 1910. The Indian National Congress, in its session of 1909 placed "on record its strong sense of disapproval of the creation of separate electorates and of the regulations which have caused widespread dissatisfaction". In 1911, King George V visited India to celebrate his coronation.

He announced the unsettlement of the "settled fact" of the partition of Bengal and the transfer of the Indian capital from Calcutta to Delhi. Lord Hardinge who replaced Lord Minto in the vice-regal gaddi sent a despatch to the Home Government in which he foreshadowed provincial autonomy and a much liberal instalment of reforms in the central government. Lord Crewe, who had succeeded Lord Morley as Secretary of State for India, ridiculed the idea and declared in the House of Lords in 1912 that he saw no future for India on the lines of Dominion Self-Government. In the meantime, Indians began to put their own house in order. Attempts were made to bridge up the gulf between Hindus and Musalmans as between moderates and extremists. In its session of 1913 held at Lucknow the Muslim League changed its creed which was made identical with that of the Congress, viz., the attainment of self-government for India along with other communities. The Congress elected a Muslim gentleman, Nawab Syed Mohammad Bahadur, to preside over its session of that year. The two bodies thus came very near each other. The annulment of the partition of Bengal, the sudden entry of Mrs. Besant into active politics, Tilak's return to public life after his six years of banishment, all added to the power of the Congress.

-In August, 1914, the Great War broke out. England had to fight for her very life. She needed help from every quarter, help in men and in money. India

came to her help and not in a niggardly manner, nor in any spirit of striking a bargain. England felt elated at this response. Her statesmen began to look at Indian aspirations from a changed angle of vision. The Allies' solemn declaration about every peoples' indefeasible right of self-determination infused hopes in the Indian mind. Alongside with this, India continued to carry on the work of internal *sangathan* (consolidation) with renewed enthusiasm. Mrs Besant formulated her demand for home rule for India as against piecemeal reforms so far demanded by the Congress. When the Congress met in December, 1914, she was a leading figure in it. Mr. Gokhale and Sir Pheroz Shah Mehta, the two veteran moderate leaders of India died in 1915, thus weakening the ranks of the Moderates. The 1915 Congress over which Sir S. P. (later Lord) Sinha presided was the last moderate Congress. Before this Congress, Mrs. Besant placed her proposal of launching a Home Rule League to carry on a concentrated agitation for home rule. Such old leaders of the Congress as Surendra Nath Benerji and Madan Mohan Malaviya opposed the proposal on the ground that the creation of new organisations would, in their opinion, lead to the weakening of the Congress itself. Mrs. Besant agreed to hold her hand for nine months so as to give the Congress time for second thought on the subject. As soon as this period was over, she started her Home Rule League as an organisation distinct from the

Congress. In a short time, ~~there were branches~~ of the Home Rule League all over India. In the Bombay presidency, Messrs Baptista and Tilak had their separate Home Rule League. These leagues desired to capture the Congress and they were successful. The Congress of 1916 which met at Lucknow was memorable in several ways. It was the first united Congress since the Surat incident, in which politicians of all schools of thought participated. Tilak was received with signal demonstrations. His carriage was unhorsed and was pulled by respectable persons. That year's session of the Muslim League was also held at Lucknow and both the Congress and the Muslim League passed resolutions couched in almost identical language demanding reforms which would ultimately result in self-government. Hindus and Muslims were united under what is known as the Lucknow Pact. The Congress and the League drew up a scheme of reforms which is known as 'the Congress-League scheme.' This scheme was submitted in 1917 to Lord Chelmsford who had succeeded Lord Hardinge as the Viceroy and Governor General of India. The British government had no time to devote to domestic questions, her one object was to prosecute the war successfully. But a strange event happened at that time. The Government of India had bungled in its war activities in Mesopotamia. A Parliamentary Commission was appointed to examine the whole question. The Report of this Commission disclosed that "that wonderful

system of government in India which, among the general British public, had hitherto been believed to be above any possible quota of inefficiency was proved to have failed and to have failed utterly not because it had been hampered or interfered with or otherwise thwarted but, on the contrary, because it had a complete *carte blanche* to do or not to do what, in its own wisdom, seemed good." Mr Josiah C. Wedgwood wrote: "My last recommendation is that we should no longer deny to Indians the full privileges of citizenship, but should allow them a larger share in the government of their own country and in the control of that bureaucracy which, in this war, uncontrolled by public opinion, has failed to rise to British standards". In July, 1917, Sir Austen Chamberlane, the Secretary of State for India, resigned and was succeeded by E. S. Montagu who was, even then, known as a great friend of India. Mr. Montagu lost no time in giving a new turn to British policy towards India. In August, 1917, he made with the concurrence of the British government, the historic announcement in the House of Commons which laid down the policy of His Majesty's government to be "an increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." The declaration was, no doubt, hedged in by a number of restrictions but it was

did not join and held a special Conference of their own in November 1918, at Bombay. From this point, the Moderate leaders seceded from the Congress.

The year, 1919, made its advent under distressful circumstances. Plague, influenza and famine had disconsolated the whole population. The defeat and humiliation and proposed dismemberment of Turkey as a result of the European War, had exasperated the Musalmans of India. The iron rule of Sir Michael O'Dwyer in the Punjab had exacerbated the Punjab; on the top of all this came the Rowlatt Bills of 1919 which were passed in the teeth of universal opposition in India. These measures were followed by Mahatma Gandhi's Satyagraha and hartals. The Jalianwala Bagh massacre and other events followed, in quick succession, by martial law, press censorship etc., created a storm of indignation in India. Agitated over the Khilafat problem, the Musalmans of India held a Khilafat Conference in Delhi in November, 1919, in order to devise means to save the Khilafat. Mahatma Gandhi espoused this cause with his usual sincerity and vehemence. He thought that, by his espousing of the Khilafat cause, the Hindu-Muslim unity would advance a step further. It was, at this conference, that Mahatma Gandhi for the first time advocated non-cooperation with government. The next Congress met at Amritsar in December, 1919, Gandhi commanded the largest influence. His voice prevailed against those of Tilak and Das, who moved for the rejection of the Montford

reforms. The Congress, although characterising the reforms as "inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing" resolved to work them all the same. But the events of 1920 disillusioned Gandhi. The officers responsible for the Punjab atrocities were indemnified, Sir Michael O'Dwyer was left untouched, only General Dyer was removed from service on account of "an error of judgment." England was quite unrepentent. "An authority, which had thus acted to a man like Mahatma Gandhi, became immoral and therefore was no longer one that could be obeyed. It had proved itself to be essentially evil and if he was not to participate in and abet this evil, the individual must openly and clearly dissociate himself from such government".* A special session of the Congress was held in Calcutta, in September 1920; Lala Lajpat Rai presided. It was in this session that the policy of non-violent non-cooperation was approved by the Congress, with three objectives in view viz., removal of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs and the establishment of swaraj. After the Congress was over, Mahatma Gandhi toured the country from one end to another to educate the masses. He advised the return of all honours, medals, titles, pensions and the like, the suspension by lawyers of their practice in government courts, boycott of all educational institutions run or aided by the government and the universal use of khadi. The boycott of new Councils was an-

* Dr. Zacharia's *Renaissant India*.

other item preached by Gandhi. The ordinary session of the Congress at Nagpur in 1920 unanimously confirmed the Calcutta resolution.

The session which was attended by 20,000 delegates (the largest the Congress had so far drawn) was mainly busy with the new constitution of the Congress which Mahatma Gandhi had drafted. In the new creed of the Congress, the goal was laid down as the "attainment of *swaraj* within the British Empire, if possible, and without it, if necessary, by all peaceful and legitimate means." Gandhi was now the recognised leader of the Congress and all other leaders were dwarfed. In April, 1921, Lord Reading succeeded Lord Chelmsford as Viceroy. Through the offices of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, an interview was arranged between the head of the government and the leader of the Congress, but it produced no tangible results. The Congress carried on its propaganda with renewed vigour. It advised the boycott of foreign cloth. Bonfires of foreign cloth were arranged in all parts of the country. Musalmans, led by the Ali brothers, helped the movement. They organised a Khilafat Conference at Karachi, in August 1920, which declared it *haram* for Muslims to serve the Indian government in any capacity. For their speeches, the Ali brothers along with Sri Shankaracharya, Swami Bharat Krishna Tirtha, the great leader of orthodox Hindus, were arrested and sentenced to various terms of rigorous imprisonment.

The movement of non-cooperation was at its height when the Moplah riots broke out. The publicity given to the atrocities committed by Moplahs on Hindus broke the Hindu Muslim unity. There were serious riots in Bombay on the occasion of the visit of the Prince of Wales which was to be boycotted by the Congress. This led to wholesale arrests of Congress leaders. 20,000 people were gaoled. The next session of the Congress was held at Ahmedabad in December, 1921. C. R. Das was elected president but he was in jail. In his absence, Hakim Ajmal Khan presided. Mass civil disobedience proposed by Mahatma Gandhi was accepted by the Congress and he was appointed the Dictator of the Congress to indicate the ways and means to carry out this programme. At this session, an interesting event happened. Maulana Hasrat Mohani wanted to change the Congress goal of swaraj to complete independence and the establishment of a republic. Mahatma Gandhi opposed him and insisted on the maintenance of the British connection and succeeded. Hardly the campaign of civil disobedience was started when the Chauri Chaura massacre took place. Mahatma Gandhi at once ordered cessation of activities. But he was arrested in March, 1922, and sentenced to 6 years rigorous imprisonment.

✓ The legislatures brought into existence under the Montagu Chelmsford reforms were worked by the Moderates and during the first term they worked well. As was the desire of Mr. Montagu himself, the most

prominent leaders of the Moderate school were appointed ministers. Surendra Nath in Bengal, Chintamani in U. P., Har Kishan Lal in the Punjab did exceedingly well as ministers. The life of the first legislatures was to close in the autumn of 1923. C. R. Das in Bengal, Moti Lal Nehru in U. P. and N. C. Kelkar in Bombay revolted against the boycott of legislatures and advocated council entry in order "to end or mend" them. C. R. Das presided over the Gaya Congress (1922). This Congress, by a majority, rejected the council entry programme. C. R. Das and Moti Lal Nehru organised the Swaraj Party and carried on a raging and tearing propaganda in favour of Council entry. A special session of the Congress, held in September 1923, lifted the ban on Council entry. Elections were contested and the Congress candidates were returned in large numbers.

In February, 1924, Pandit Moti Lal Nehru leader of the Swaraj Party in the Central Assembly moved a resolution in that body recommending to the Governor General to summon, at an early date, representatives to a Round Table Conference to recommend.....a constitution for India. This recommendation was rejected by Lord Reading. The next two years passed without any striking events taking place. The Swarajist leaders worked the legislatures with an ever growing moderation, the Gandhi-ites remaining busy with their constructive programme. C. R. Das died in June, 1925. The position of the Congress and the Swaraj party had

become extremely weak by the time the next elections were fought in 1926 and consequently their strength in the legislatures was extremely poor. In 1927, the Parliamentary Commission known as the Simon Commission (because Sir John Simon was its president), was appointed by the British Government to examine India's case and to report to the Parliament. The Congress boycotted this Commission; the Moderates were, if possible, more vehement in their boycott of it on the ground that it included not a single Indian. But political India, at this time, recognised the need of a constructive policy. Lord Birkenhead, the then Secretary of State for India had repeatedly taunted his Indian critics that they had no suggestions of their own to make and had asked them "to put forward their own suggestions for a constitution to indicate to us the form, which in their judgement, any reform of the constitution should take." The Madras Congress (1927) resolved to convene an All-India All-Parties conference. This conference met in February, 1928, and appointed a small committee commissioning them to draft a constitution accordingly. Pandit Moti Lal Nehru was the convener of this committee. The committee produced what is historically known as the Nehru Report. It was unanimously adopted by the All-Parties Conference in 1928. Among other things, the constitution embodied in this report was based on the assumption that India will remain an integral part of the British Empire. This feature of the report cut

its life short, for, in November 1928 within the Congress itself, a new party arose which advocated complete independence for India. Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar was the titular head of this party but the power behind the throne was represented by two young men, Jawahar Lal Nehru and Subhas Chandra Bose. In the Calcutta Congress, 1928, there was a tug of war once again. It was interesting to see the father Pandit Moti Lal Nehru pitched up against his son Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. But it was a losing game the father was playing. Mahatma Gandhi who had again joined the Congress saved the situation by proposing a compromise resolution. It said, "Subject to the exigencies of the political situation this Congress will adopt the constitution (as outlined in the Nehru Report) in its entirety, if it is accepted by the British Parliament on or before December 31, 1929, but in the event of its non-acceptance by that date or its earlier rejection, the Congress will organise non-violent non cooperation by advising the country to refuse taxation and, in such other manner as may be decided upon." The amendment in favour of complete independence moved by S. C Bose and seconded by Jawahar Lal Nehru, was rejected. This ultimatum was fruitful of results. Lord Irwin, Governor General and Viceroy of India, who had gone to England on a short visit to consult Cabinet Ministers and others on the Indian situation, on his return to India issued a statement that he was "authorised by His Majesty's Government to state clearly

that in their judgment, it is implicit in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status." It was also announced by the British Government that after the publication of the Simon Commission Report, a Round Table Conference would be invited to meet in London in which Indian delegates also would be asked to take part, with a view to consider the Simon Commission proposals and any other proposals put forward in connection with the new constitution of India. These announcements changed the entire political atmosphere of India. Practically the whole of India approved the new policy. But there was the proverbial slip between the cup and the lip. In the first place, the announcement of Lord Irwin was interpreted by Indian leaders as a promise of immediate grant of Dominion Status as a result of the Round Table Conference, whereas, as he explained it in a later speech, Lord Irwin's interpretation was that Dominion Status was only the ultimate destination and that there would be intermediate stages. Secondly, the Conservative party in England led by Mr. Churchill raised its campaign of opposition to Dominion Status and described it as surrender on the part of the British nation. The great Liberal party resented the snub the holding of the Round Table Conference meant to its member, Sir John Simon. The Labour Party which was only in office and not in power, did not like to quit office on such a minor issue

as that of India. It became lukewarm in its attitude. The 1929 Congress at Lahore was presided over by Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. The young party of which Jawahar Lal Nehru was the leader was bent upon declaration of Independence, be the consequences what may. The time given to the British Government by the preceding Congress for the grant of Dominion status had also expired. The Congress, on 1st January, 1930, hoisted the flag of complete independence. The war of independence was to be fought by non-violent methods. Mahatma Gandhi was, again, placed in charge of the War Department. An Independence Day was observed all over India on 26th January, 1930, by holding meetings and processions. The Muslims headed by the Ali brothers, who had after the failure of the Khilafat movement abandoned the Congress, opposed the movement. The Mahatma started his satyagraha by breaking the salt laws on April 6, 1930 and the movement was taken up by the whole country. Government did not sit still. Arrests and imprisonment of leaders after leaders took place. To salt making, boycott of foreign cloth and liquor shops was added. The movement, though marvellously non-violent for a time, could not for various reasons remain so for all time. Chittagong and Peshawar saw violence of the worst description. Mahatma Gandhi was arrested and interned in the Poona Jail as being a "menace to public order." But this did not stop the movement. Other leaders came forward to step into Gandhi's

shoes; 60,000 Satyagrahis were sent to prison. The Government issued emergency Ordinances over the head of the legislature in order to crush this movement. Congress Committees were declared unlawful assemblies and their properties were confiscated. At this time, (June 1930), the Simon Commission's Report was published. It was a still born child. A Round Table Conference was called. Government evinced anxiety for the Congress to participate in it, but as the Congress terms were not accepted, it was held from November 1930 to January 1931 without the Congress in it. The Conference met and came to certain conclusions. But in India, the non-co-operation movement continued unabated. On January 25, 1931, Mahatma Gandhi was released unconditionally, firstly because the Government thought that the proceedings of the Round Table Conference must have brought a change in his outlook and secondly because terrorism was assuming alarming proportions and Gandhi's help was needed to suppress it. With him the members of the Working Committee of the Congress were also released in order to give an opportunity to them to consider the new development consequent on the proceedings of the first Round Table Conference. An interview was arranged between Gandhi as the plenipotentiary of the I. N. Congress and Lord Irwin, the representative of the British Government. A pact was entered into, which is known as the Irwin-Gandhi Pact and a halt was called to warfare.

The next Congress met at Karachi at the end of March 1931. Although the situation was very tense, made still more so by the execution of Bhagat Singh, and although the Irwin Gandhi pact was attacked by the extremists both in India and in England, Mahatma Gandhi got it approved by the Congress. As a consequence, the Congress agreed to attend the second session of the Round Table Conference. Mahatma Gandhi was deputed as the sole delegate to represent the Congress. By this time, there had been a change in the Government of England. Although Mr. Ramsay Macdonald was still the Premier, he was now the head of the so-called National Government and not of the Labour Government. The principal Secretary of State for India was no longer Mr. Wedgewood Benn, the silent but a sympathising friend of India, his place was taken by Sir Samual Hoare, a conservative member. The conference had hardly begun its labours when the Parliament was dissolved. Till the general elections the Round Table Conference lived in suspense. The result of the elections was the return of an overwhelming majority of Tories. The opposition was made up only of 59 members. The Conference met and deliberated but ended in a fiasco. Mahatma Gandhi came back to India on December 28, 1931, full of misgivings about the real intentions of Great Britain and found the country thoroughly dissatisfied. Sir Samual Hoare in England and Lord Willingdon in

India (Lord Willingdon had succeeded Lord Irwin as Viceroy in 1931) this time did not, like his predecessor, flirt with the Congress but decided to crush it. On his return, Mahatma Gandhi wrote to Lord Willingdon for an interview which was refused. He was soon sent to Jail. Along with him, all the other leaders of the Congress were arrested and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. The Home Government gave, so to say, *carte blanche* to the Government of India to use every means, legal or extra-legal to destroy even the smallest influence or prestige of the Congress. The annual session of the Congress which had been declared an unlawful body was held on the public roads in Delhi on April 23, 1932. The third Round Table Conference was held in the following year in which the Congress was not represented. Its report was duly published, but no party was satisfied with it. The White Paper containing the actual proposals of the Government with regard to Indian reforms was published on March 18, 1933. In the Congress circles, the scheme was denounced as entirely unworthy of acceptance. The 1933 session of the Congress, or of what was left of this unlawful association, was held in Calcutta in the same manner as the previous one was held in Delhi. Even as it was, it was soon dispersed by the police. Mahatma Gandhi was released on 8th May, 1933, unconditionally. On his release, he advised the acting President of the Congress to suspend civil disobedience for six weeks and appealed to the

Government to release all prisoners with a view to establishing real peace in the land. Mr. Aney suspended the civil disobedience for six weeks and then again for another six weeks, that is, till the end of July. Although this step was approved by the majority of the population, it was resented by the left wing Congressmen of the type of Jawahar Lal Nehru and S C. Bose.' A conference was held at Poona from 12th to 14th July, 1933. Mahatma Gandhi attended it. This conference authorised the Mahatma to seek an interview with the Viceroy. The Mahatma applied for an interview "with a view to exploring the possibilities of peace." The request was promptly refused on the ground, that civil disobedience was not yet abandoned.

On 24th July, a new programme was published whereby all mass activities were to cease forthwith and Congress workers were to offer civil disobedience individually as they chose. All Congress organisations were to cease to exist for the time being, but provincial and all-India dictators were to continue and Congressmen were expected to carry on such constructive activities for the Congress as they were fitted for. Mahatma Gandhi himself disbanded his Sabarmati Ashram and announced his intention of marching with some followers to the village of Raṣ in the Kaira district urging the people on his way to start individual civil disobedience. But this was not to be. On 1st August, he was arrested and later sentenced to

one year's simple imprisonment. He was, however, released on medical grounds on 23rd August and on his release he withdrew himself temporarily from active politics and devoted all his time and influence to social work. The 1933 session of the Congress abandoned the civil disobedience movement and allowed Congressmen to enter the Councils. Mahatma Gandhi wanted to change the creed of the Congress' once again by substituting "truthful" for "legitimate" means for the attainment of Swaraj. But the delegates present did not accept the change. Mahatma Gandhi was successful in reducing the number of delegates to the Congress in order to make it a truly deliberative body. The four-anna franchise remained unaltered.

The Joint Parliamentary Committee Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms which was published in 1934 narrowed down some of the liberal features of the White Paper proposals and made still more reactionary its reactionary features. The Indian opposition which was practically universal was not heeded. The Government of India Act based on the recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee was finally enacted by the British Parliament in 1935.

✓ In the meantime, a new party arose in India, Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru being its chief exponent. The members of this party believed in socialism as the panacea of all the sufferings of India, social, economic and political. This party had well-organised branches in

all provinces of India; but in the Congress it is still in the minority. The president of the 1936 session of the Congress was Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru, the leader of the Socialist party. Although the Congress accepted some of the President's proposals such as his emphasis on mass contacts and foreign propaganda it did not approve of his whole-hog socialist programme. This Congress decided to contest the elections to legislatures although it was openly hostile to the scheme of reforms conceded in the Government of India Act, 1935. The tremendous influence the Congress wields justified the results of elections. It swept the polls in six provinces and captured a large number in two others. In the majority provinces, however, the Congress refused to undertake the responsibility of office until the Government gave a guarantee that the Governors would not interfere in the day-to-day work of the popular cabinets. The Government gave a flat refusal on the ground that the Act invested the Governors with special responsibilities which they could not give up. The consequence was that ministers selected from the *minority groups were installed in office* in these provinces. After a few months, however, the Government came to terms with the Congress and all the six provinces formed Congress cabinets. In three more provinces Congress or pro-Congress ministries were formed soon after. •

In 1937, for the first time in its history, the Congress met in a village, Faizpur. It appointed a

parliamentary sub-committee to advise, guide and control the Congress governments in the provinces. In its session of 1938, presided over by Mr. S.C. Bose, the Congress adopted the Wardha Scheme of basic education and Congress governments introduced it in their respective provinces. The World War No. 2 broke out in September 1939. Bose was re-elected president of the next Congress. Gandhi and some other leading members of the Working Committee wanted another gentleman to preside. It appeared that Bose was giving battle to British Imperialism while Gandhi and his followers did not want to embarrass the British while the latter were engaged in a life and death struggle with the Axis powers and trusted that the exigencies of the war and their own good sense would force the British to make India a free and willing partner in the prosecution of the war. Britain kept um, however. After a time, circumstances compelled Bose to resign and the old Working Committee resumed charge of the Congress again. Bose gathered all the extreme elements in the Congress under his flag and formed what is known as the Forward Block. With the mysterious disappearance of Bose, however, in 1939, this party became inactive.

Soon after the outbreak of the war, the Viceroy without consulting the Central Legislature which was in session at the time or the popular provincial governments made India enter the war and issued certain

orders which the Congress governments in provinces looked upon as encroaching upon their legitimate functions. As a result the Congress Cabinets in all the provinces resigned about the end of 1939. The Governors this time did not attempt to form minority governments but suspended the constitution and assumed all powers themselves. This state of affairs still continues in the Congress majority provinces.

The Viceroy in a speech in Bombay on 10th January, 1940, restated the policy of the British Government. The British Government, he stated, was willing to confer full Dominion Status as soon as possible after the War and as an immediate step it was proposed to enlarge the Executive Council of the Central Government by the appointment of some of the leaders of various parties. - Gandhi had an interview with Lord Linlithgow on February 6 and told him that in his view a settlement between India and Britain was impossible until the British Government conceded India's claim to determine her own constitution and status without interference from outside.

The Congress met at Ramgarh in March, 1940. In a resolution it declared that as Britain was fighting in the war fundamentally for imperialist ends and for the preservation and strengthening of her Empire, the Congress could not, in any way, directly or indirectly, be a party to the war and that any status within the imperial structure was wholly inapplicable to India. *Once again it demanded the right of India for shaping*

her own constitution through a constituent assembly elected on the basis of adult suffrage.

Soon after two events of great magnitude happened. In mid-April the *blitzkrieg* broke on Norway and Denmark and in quick succession Holland Belgium and France collapsed and it was feared in many quarters that Britain would soon share the fate of these countries, secondly, in May, Mr Churchill, an old opponent of Indian freedom, replaced Mr. Chamberlain as Prime Minister of Great Britain and Mr. L. S. Amery succeeded Lord Zetland as Indian Secretary. The Congress maintained its old position. In July, the Working Committee re-iterated its demand for the establishment of a provisional National Government at the centre such as to command the confidence of all the elected elements in the Central Legislature and secure the closest co-operation of the responsible governments in the provinces. Now came what is called the August offer of the British Government. In the statement issued by the Viceroy, the British Government concurred with the Congress in the Indian desire that the framing of the new constitution should be primarily the responsibility of Indians themselves, but this was hedged in by a number of restrictions in the matter of defence, minority rights, Indian States, Secretary of State's services, etc., etc.; secondly, this constitution could be drawn up only after the War. The Congress rejected this offer with contempt as in its opinion it made no concession to Indian demand

but was "a direct encouragement and incitement to civil discord and strife."

Satyagraha was started and in course of time jails were again filled by Satyagrahis including such leaders as Pt Jawahar Lal Nehru and Maulana Azad. The deadlock continued. There was mutual distrust between the rulers and the ruled. This distrust was deepened when Mr. Churchill declared in the House of Commons that clause 3 of the Atlantic Charter did not apply to India. This clause 3 reads: 'They (United States of America and Britain) respect the right of all peoples to choose the form of government under which they will live, and they wish sovereign rights and self-government restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.' In the meantime Japan was dangerously advancing towards India. Singapur fell on February 15, 1941. Soon followed Rangoon. The enemy was at the door of India. The Congress believed that India could be defended only by free India and consequently the Working Committee and the All-India Congress Committee in their meetings demanded full independence in order to enable the country to defend itself properly from the Japanese aggression. The British Government was nothing doing.

At long last on March 11, 1942, Mr. Churchill announced that the War Cabinet had come to an unanimous decision on Indian policy. Sir Stafford Cripps was sent to India to announce this policy. He arrived

in India on March 25, 1942 and had long consultations with the officials, party leaders and representatives of Indian States on the subject. The main features of this declaration were (1) the creation of an Indian Union as a full-fledged Dominion, (2) setting up of a constitution-making body immediately upon the cessation of hostilities, (3) the British government to accept and implement the constitution thus framed on two conditions viz., (1) any province or provinces not prepared to accept the constitution will be entitled to frame a constitution of their own. The same right was given to Indian States. The second condition was the signing of a treaty to be negotiated between the British Government and the constitution-making body to cover all "matters arising out of the complete transfer of responsibility from British to Indian hands, particularly the protection of racial and religious minorities in accordance with the British Government's past undertakings. For the present, the British Government was to retain control of the defence of India and transfer other responsibilities to the hands of the leaders of principal sections of the Indian people. The Congress leaders after prolonged discussions with Sir Stafford Cripps rejected this offer for two reasons. First it ignored the ninety millions of people in the Indian States who were to have no voice in shaping the constitution. Secondly the novel principle of non accession was 'a severe blow to the conception of Indian unity'.

The All-India Congress Committee met at Allaha-bad in May, 1942. It passed a resolution stating "that the present crisis as well as the negotiations with Sir Stafford Cripps make it impossible for the Congress to consider any schemes or proposals which retain, even in partial measure, British control and authority in India." The Working Committee met again at Wardha on July 6, 1942. It passed a resolution which demanded immediate abdication of British share in Indian government. "British rule in India must end immediately," said the resolution, "not only because foreign domination is an evil in itself but because India in bondage can play no effective part in defending herself and saving the world from Nazism, Fascism, Militarism and other forms of imperialism."

The Working Committee in its meeting on 5th August, added a few points to its Wardha Resolution and submitted the amended resolution to the All-India Congress Committee which met at Bombay on 7th August. After a heated and prolonged discussion in which Mahatma Gandhi and other leaders took part the resolution was adopted by a large majority of the All-India Congress Committee.

On August 9, 1942, Mahatma Gandhi, the members of the *Working Committee* and many other Congress leaders were arrested and the All-India Congress Committee and all the Provincial Congress Committees except that of the N. W. F. P. were declared unlawful under the Criminal Law Amendment Act of

1908. Since then the Congress leaders have been behind prison bars and the Congress Committees are unlawful bodies. The deadlock continues. India is being governed not as a democratic State but with the entire responsibility of the British Government.

We have dealt with the Indian National Congress at some length because it is the oldest political body, national in character, claiming allegiance of by far the largest majority of Indian people. It is the only association which has fought and is still fighting for the national freedom of India, without distinction of religion, colour or community and the only body capable of delivering the goods. Other organizations will be dealt with briefly.

In political views, it has been truly said, that the extremists of today are the moderates of to-morrow.

(ii) The Indian
Liberal
Federation.

During the agitation against the Partition of Bengal and earlier, Surendra Nath Banerji was regarded

an as extremist both by the Government and the people. He was the initiator of the movement for the boycott of foreign goods which Gokhale had accepted at the time "as a last protest and perhaps the only constitutional and effective means left of drawing the attention of the British public to the action of the Government of India" These words were uttered by Gokhale in 1905. In the Congress of 1906 an open rupture became imminent on this question and was only averted by the tact of the president, Dadabhai

Naoroji. But the differences came to a head the following year at Surat. There was literally giving and taking of blows, and the meeting had to be adjourned. In the following year, a constitution was adopted for the Congress which excluded the extremists and retained the Congress in the hands of the Moderates led by Banerji and Gokhale. In 1916, the Congress met once again at Lucknow as a United Congress, but it soon became apparent that the differences were only patched up, not actually healed. The Moderates looked with suspicion on Tilak and Mrs. Besant. On the publication of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, however, the difference came to a head. The Moderates welcomed the proposals. Of all persons Surendra Nath Banerji was enthusiastic over them. The extremists condemned them as unacceptable. When, therefore, a special session of the Congress was held to consider the Report, the Moderates with one or two exceptions did not participate in it. They held a conference of their own in Bombay on November 1, 1918. This was the first conference of the Moderate seceders. Surendra Nath Banerji thus described the event: "To many of us and to me in a special sense, separation from the Congress was a painful wrench. We had contributed to build up the great National Institution with our life-blood. We had raised it up from infancy to adolescence and from adolescence to maturity and now, in full view of the crowning reward of our life-long labours, we found the

sacred temple of national unity swayed by divided counsels resounding with the voice of conflict and controversy and divorced from the healing accents of moderation and prudence. We could not but secede, for the difference between those who have captured the machinery of the Congress and ourselves are fundamental, viz., the question of self government. The Congress, however great an organisation, was, after all, a means to an end. That end was self-government. We decided to sacrifice the means for the end. "That was the *raison d'être* of the Moderate or Liberal party arising as a separate entity in the public life of India." These Moderates or Liberals, which name they took later on, adopted the old creed of the Congress, viz., 'attainment by India of self-government on Colonial lines within the British Empire by constitutional agitation' and thus they claimed to be the real successors of the founders of the Congress such as Dadabhai Naoroji and others. They rallied round Mr. Montagu and his Reforms and on the principle that half a loaf is better than none, they decided to work those reforms. While the Congress boycotted the new legislatures, the Liberals contested the seats and were duly returned. Some of the prominent leaders of this party were appointed Ministers in charge of transferred departments and the country's verdict was that, on the whole, they acquitted themselves creditably. In the first place, so long as Mr. Montagu was the Secretary of State, the officials in India worked the

reforms in a sympathetic spirit; secondly, the Congress growing extremer and extremer the Government wanted to keep the Liberals to its side and thus gave them opportunities to justify their policy of cooperation, and lastly, the party included in it some very capable men, political savants and unblemished patriots who according to their own judgment could not let the country's cause go by default. During the non-cooperation movement the Liberals had to play the double role of critics both of government and the Congress. In 1922, Mr. Montagu had to resign to give place to Sir Laming Worthington Evans. With this change the whole atmosphere changed. Mr. Chintamani, Education Minister in U P, after resigning his office, said: "So long as Mr. Montagu, the father of the Reforms, was in office, the reformed governments ran smoothly but when the reins of office were taken from him, there was an attempt to deny the spirit of the Reforms, while seeming to observe the letter of the Act. Joint deliberations, which had previously been the rule, became the exception, the Finance Member's grip over the purse became tighter and tighter; the Governor's control began to be felt increasingly. Diarchy had succeeded only as long as it was ignored in practice; as soon as it was decided to work government as a diarchy, nothing but friction resulted". There was a corresponding change in the atmosphere of the Legislative Assembly. The next elections were contested by the Congress; the Liberals were routed. The Government discarded the latter

now. So long as they cooperated with the government and so long as the exigencies of the political situation in England made their help necessary for the Government of India they were patted like good children. But as soon as a strong government came into power in England there was no use for the Liberals by the government in India. They held their annual conference every year, criticising both the government and the Congress in the same breath and demanding further reforms. The country was mostly drawn to the Congress which had a programme which appealed strongly to the emotions of the people and never stopped to give a thought to what the Liberals said and did in or out of their conferences. The Liberals came into prominence again when the Simon Commission was appointed in 1927 consisting of seven 'Gods own Englishmen'. The inclusion of Indians in the Commission was deliberately avoided. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the most prominent and the most respected as also the most distinguished of the leaders of the Liberal party, smelt in this act an insult to India and issued at once a statement that he would have nothing to do with the All-White Commission and advised his colleagues of the Liberal party to boycott the Commission. The Commission was boycotted, the Liberals joining the Congressmen in arranging anti-Simon demonstrations and in receiving lathi blows at some places at the hands of the police in the latter's attempts to disperse the demonstrationists. As a result of this boycott

and as an answer to British authorities' challenge that India could not produce a constitution for itself the Liberals once again joined the Congress leaders in thrashing out the proposals contained in the Nehru Report. For the rest, they carried on their political activities in their own manner. The difference between the Liberals and the Congressmen is not only one of outlook but of fundamentals also. The Liberals do not believe in complete independence, they do not believe in non-cooperation (except on some particular occasions), they do not believe in direct action, in Satyagraha, in soul force, or in idealism such as non-violence or truthfulness. They believe that India's ultimate good is bound up with her connection with England, as Sir Pherozshah Mehta and Gokhale believed 30 years ago and therefore they stand for Dominion Status as India's goal. They believe in constitutional agitation. They are wedded to moderation in thought, word and action. Sweet reasonableness and argument are ingrained in their nature. Whereas the Congress believes in destroying an undesirable construction and build on new foundations, the Liberals are anxious to repair the building so long as they can help in maintaining it and build on it. The Liberals do not try and have never tried to approach the masses. They believe only in influencing the British authorities in India and in England and their own educated countrymen. We find among them such intellectual stalwarts as Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, Rt. Hon'ble Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Sir

C. Y. Chintamani. (now no more), Sir Chiman Lal Sitalwad, Sir Sivaswami Iyer, Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru and many others but their method of work does not appeal to the masses. No wonder they have little following and that is one reason why government pays scant courtesy to what they say or do.

There are other political groups and parties in India (iii) Other or- which have their own lines of thought
ganisations. and action but as the number of members of these groups is small their influence either on the government or on the people is negligible.

The Communist party is perhaps the most important of these groups. The Communists are for revolutionising the whole society on a basis different from the present. They deprecate ownership by a few of the means of production of wealth and advocate that workers, that is, the daily wage-earners and tillers of soil should share the profits of labour. This school of politics is an admirer of the economic system prevalent in Russia since the 1917 Revolution. Before the present war broke out, this party was in the bad books of the British government. Its activities were even banned but since the entry of Russia into the war on the side of the Allied Nations, the party is not only allowed to carry on its activities but also financed by the government for doing war propaganda as the party considers the present war as the peoples' war.

The party consists mostly of educated young men, sincere in their convictions and courageous to act in

accordance with those convictions. They are trying in their own way to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity. They are friends of the labouring classes and the poor.

There is the Radical Democratic party whose leader is Mr. M. N. Roy, once a communist. The following of this party is very small.

(ii) Communal Organizations (Muslim).

When the National Congress was ushered into existence in 1885, Musalmans joined it freely. There was one Muslim leader, however, who anticipating that the Congress would one day become an anti government organisation kept himself aloof. That was Sir Syed Ahmad Khan of Aligarh (1817-1898). Sir Syed was in his early days a staunch and fearless nationalist. In poetic language he once spoke of India as a beautiful bride whose two eyes were Hindus and Muslims. In the Viceroy's Legislative Council of which he was a member he said on one occasion: "In the word *nation* I include both Hindus and Mohammedans because that is the only meaning I can attach to it." "With me," he added, "it is not worth considering what is their religious faith because we do not see anything of it. What we do see is that we inhabit the same land, are subject to the rule of the same governors, the fountains of benefit for all are the same and the pangs of famine we suffer equally."

That his opposition was the result of, Mr. A.O. Hume informs us, "the promptings and support of a small but

influential section of the Anglo-Indian party" notably of the English principals of the M A. O. College. The bulk of the Muslims were with the Congress. Mr. Sayani as president of the Congress of 1895 declared: "It is imagined by some persons that all or almost all the Musalmans of India are against the Congress movement. This is not true. Indeed, by far the largest part do not know what the Congress movement is". The few attempts Sir Syed made to keep the Musalmans away proved futile. The partition of Bengal in the first decade of this century, however, first led to a serious division between Hindus and Muslims. Sir Bampfylde Fuller, Lt. Governor of the new Muslim province of Eastern Bengal and Assam gave official expression to his "favourite wife" policy. By the favourite treatment generally received at the hands of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, the Muslims were led to believe that they could not go forward with their Hindu brethren unless they secured special privileges as a start. An All-India Muslim deputation headed by H. H. the Aga Khan waited on Lord Minto, the then Viceroy and Governor General, in 1906, as soon as he gave out that further reforms in the administration of India were in contemplation. This deputation demanded communal representation to Musalmans in the legislatures and Lord Minto expressing himself "as being entirely in accord" with the deputationists conceded all their demands.

The success of the deputation encouraged the

promoters to start a separate organisation. Accordingly, Nawab Salimullah Khan issued invitations to a number of Muslim public men to meet on 30th December, 1906, at Dacca. That was the first session of the Al-India Muslim League. The objects of the League as then laid down were the "promotion of loyalty to British government, the protection of political and other rights of Musalmans and to place their needs and aspirations before government in temperate language and to promote inter-communal unity without prejudice to the other objects of the League". In its session at Amritsar (December, 1908) Sir Syed Ali Imam presiding, the League passed a resolution demanding the extension of communal representation to the local bodies and disapproving the attitude of the Congress on the partition of Bengal. Two years later, there was some difference between Nawab Vikarul Mulk (who was Secretary both of the M. A. O. College and the League) and the principal of the College which led the League to transfer the office of the President from Aligarh to Lucknow (1910). The next two years proved very eventful. The Young Turk movement in Turkey which aimed at democratising the Ottoman Empire and which had the full sympathy of the educated Muslims of India, had to face the British Imperial policy which helped the Sultan against this movement. As a consequence new anti-British leaders arose in India. Dr. M. A. Anwar and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and the Ali Brothers appeared on the scene.

Maulana Azad's *Al-Hilal* and Mohammad Ali's *Comrade* and *Hamdard* started to educate the Muslim public created a revolution in the Muslim mentality. These papers began to attack the loyalism and communalism of the League and succeeded in their object. In its session of 1913 held at Lucknow, the League was obliged to include in its creed "the attainment of self-government for India along with other communities". The first great European War broke out in 1914. There was great commotion among the Musalmans of India and several Muslim leaders including Maulanas Azad, Mohammad Ali and Hasrat Mohani raised the voice of independence for India. They were interned by the Indian Government. In 1915, the League and the Congress held their session at the same place and at the same time. A large number of Congress leaders including Pandit Malaviya, Mahatma Gandhi, and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu attended the session of the League. H. H. the Aga Khan the permanent president of the League did not like this rapprochement and resigned his office as a result. Mr. M. A. Jinnah took the lead of Muslim politics. In 1916, the Congress and the League both met at Lucknow and came to mutual agreement by means of what is known as the Lucknow Pact and drafted a joint scheme of reforms known as the Congress-League scheme for submission to the British Government for acceptance. Mr. Jinnah, in the course of his presidential address said: "It is said, for instance, that democratic institutions are unsuited

to the genius of the East'. Is democracy unknown to the Hindus and Muslims? Then what were the village punchayats? What does the glorious past of Islam testify?" The same enthusiasm was visible at its next session at Calcutta where the Congress was being held at the same time. The League next met at Delhi, in 1918. This session of the League is notable for another event. The Ulema appeared on the political scene. Maulana Abdul Bari of Farangi Mahal, Maulana Kifayat-ullah and Maulana Abdul Saeed were some of the leading divines who participated in the proceedings of this session.

The War came to a conclusion in 1918. As a result of peace treatiest he Khilafat was threatened with dissolution. A Khilafat conference was organised in India Events like the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre had raised the tempo of all India to a very high pitch. The result was that the League, the Khilafat Conference, the Jamiat-ul-Ulma Hind and the Congress all met at Amritsar and adopted a common programme of action against the policy of the British Government with reference to Turkey and India. When the 1919 Reforms were, however, put into practice, the flood of popular enthusiam had begun to subside. The Muslim League lost all its prestige so much so that the session of 1923 at Lucknow had to be abandoned for want of a quorum. For several years, the League was in a moribund condition. It, however, came to life again when the appointment of the Simon Commission was announced

in 1927. Like the rest of the political India, the leading lights of the League were for boycotting the Commission. The loyalist element which was so far biding its time found this occasion auspicious to appear on the scene again. A meeting of the League was convened at Lahore over which Sir Mohammad Shafi presided. This meeting in a resolution welcomed the appointment of the All-White Commission and offered its cooperation to it. The accredited session of the League, however, met in Calcutta, Mr. Jinnah presiding. This meeting resolved on the boycott of the Commission and authorised its Council to cooperate with the Indian National Congress and other political organisations in drafting an agreed constitution for India in answer to Lord Birkenhead who had recently said that India was unable to produce an agreed constitution. The Nehru Report was the production of these joint deliberations. The Shafi League arranged a Muslim All Parties Conference in 1929, to focus the opinion of Muslim India on this Report, The League also participated. There was a tug of war between the two parties, the League being for adoption of the Report. The Conference rejected the Report. Mr. Jinnah was not sure of his own position. He adjourned the meeting of the League which was in session at the time *sine die* without deciding the issue. The Nationalist Muslims left the League and formed a new party. The League became almost defunct and remained so for a number of years, so much so that its

Allahabad session of 1930 had to be adjourned for want of a quorum.~It was, however, reorganised in 1934 when the Civil Disobedience movement of the Congress in which Nationalist Muslims had participated was called off.~ Mr Jinnah was again the leading figure. The League Council met in New Delhi in April, 1934 and passed a resolution accepting Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's Communal Award so far as it went until a substitute was agreed upon by the various communities. The same resolution expressed the readiness of the League "for cooperation with other communities and parties to secure such future constitution for India as would be acceptable to the country". Condemning the government White Paper as a "treacherous scheme" Mr. Jinnah observed: "India looks forward to a real, solid, united front. It is upto the leaders to put their heads together and nothing would give me greater happiness than to bring about complete co-operation and friendship between Hindus and Muslims and in this desire my information is that I have the solid support of the Musalmans".

✓ The Government of India Act, 1935, was put into force in 1937. at any rate, the provincial part of it. The Congress decided to contest the elections and enter the legislatures with a view to wreck the constitution. The Muslim League had almost the same object in view. During the elections the Congress helped the Muslim League candidates as they were, in its opinion, more nationalist in their views than others.

The League leaders thought that if the Congress was returned in majority it would form governments in coalition with the League. The Congress swept the polls in 6 out of 11 provinces and was in absolute majority in all of them. When asked to form cabinets it chose such Muslim legislators as ministers as were returned on the Congress tickets and ignored the Muslim League altogether. This policy antagonised the League. In its 1937 session held at Lucknow Mr. Jinnah was bitter against the Congress. He said ".....Since they have formed governments in six provinces where they are in majority they have by their words, deeds and programme shown that the Musalmans cannot expect any justice or fair play at their hands. On the very threshold of what little power and responsibility is given the majority community has clearly shown their hand that Hindustan is for the Hindus". During succeeding years the temper of the League rose higher and higher against the Congress. Mr. Jinnah began to describe the Congress as a Hindu body out to crush the Musalmans.

In the meantime, several Muslim leaders had put forward schemes for the future constitution of India. Some of them had proposed to reconstitute provinces on the basis of culture, language, religion and the like. In March, 1939, the Working Committee of the League appointed a committee to examine the various draft schemes of constitutional reforms put forward to secure the rights and interests of the Muslim India. The

result of the deliberations of this committee is the scheme known as Pakistan variously defined by various leaders. The essence of it is that Musalmans must be treated not as a community nor as a party but as a separate nation and must have an independent Sovereign State as their homeland. This State must be carved out of present India, that is, India be divided into two independent States, Pakistan and Hindustan.

The 2nd Great War broke out in September, 1939. India became a participant in it by the Viceroy's declaration. True to their election manifesto the Congress governments in eight provinces resigned and autocratic rule was resumed in all those provinces. There was jubilation in the Muslim League circles on these resignations. A day of deliverance was celebrated all over India by the League, other Muslim parties remaining aloof. This happened when Mr. Jinnah was negotiating with the Viceroy with regard to the terms on which the Muslim League could offer its co-operation to the government.

On 23rd December, 1939, Lord Linlithgow in a letter to Mr. Jinnah assured him that "the weight which your community's position in India possesses will not be underrated" The 27th session of the League met at Lahore in March, 1940. Mr. Jinnah again propounded his two-nation theory and declared that it is only a dream that Hindus and Muslims can ever evolve a common nationality. He further declared that democracy was unsuited to India and

that "Musalmans are a nation, according to any definition of a nation and they must have their homelands, their territory and their State." In its next session held at Madras (April 1941) the League changed its constitution by incorporating into its creed the goal of Pakistan. Two subsequent sessions displayed the same mentality. In the 31st session held at Karachi in December, 1943, the League appointed a 'Committee of Action' "to prepare and organise Muslims all over India to meet all contingencies, resist the imposition of All-India Federation or any other constitution for one united India and prepare them for the coming struggle for the achievement of Pakistan." It authorised the president to appoint another committee with power to prepare a comprehensive scheme for a five year programme for the economic and social uplift, state industrialisation in Pakistan zones, introduction of free primary basic education, reform of the land system, and for like objects.

The Muslim League today commands among Indian Musalmans an influence which no other Muslim organisation does. It is the most vocal and most assertive of all Muslim groups; its claim that it is the only organisation which represents all Indian Musalmans is not accepted by all Musalmans or all parties. There are the Congress Muslims whose number is not small who condemn the activities and the policy of the League as not only anti-national but suicidal to the interests of the Muslim community itself. Many of them are learned

and orthodox Musalmans. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad is the president of the Indian National Congress. In a speech delivered by him from the platform of the Congress he declared: "The thousand years of our joint life has moulded us into a common nationality. This cannot be done artificially. Nature does her fashioning through her hidden processes in the course of centuries. The cast has now been moulded and destiny has set its seal upon it. Whether we like it or not we have now become an Indian nation united and indivisible. No fantasy or artificial scheming to separate and divide can break this unity."

Then there is the All-India Independent Muslim Conference. The President of this Conference, late Mr. Allah Bux contested the claim of the Muslim League to be the sole representative body of Indian Muslims and strongly criticised the Pakistan scheme which would, according to him, result in putting the Muslims in an "isolation quarantine".

The Jamiat-ul-Ulama, the organisation of Muslim theologians and divines is opposed to the policy and programme of the Muslim League. Maulana Kifayat-Ullah, president of this organisation is of the opinion that India with its geographical and political boundaries is an indivisible whole and as such it is the common homeland of all the citizens irrespective of race or religion, who are joint owners of its resources. All nooks and corners of the country contain the hearths and homes of the Muslims and the cherished

historical monuments of their religion and culture. From the national point of view every Muslim is an Indian." The vast bulk of the Shia population all over India is for union and not for separation. The Ahrars, the Momins and several other groups disapprove the policy of the Muslim League.

This is a socio-political organisation founded by (b) Khudai Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, better known as Frontier Gandhi, in 1929. It played a very prominent part in the 1930 Satyagraha. It has inculcated non-violence in the Pathans. It consists mostly of Muslim peasantry in the Frontier and stands for complete independence of India as a unit. In peace times its activities include relief and reconstruction work.

It is the political organisation of the poor among the Muslims. It was formed in 1934. (c) The Ahrars. among its prominent leaders being Maulana Ahmad Saeed, M. Mazhar Ali, Habib-ur-Rahman and Pir Ata-Ullah Shah Bukhari. Its outlook is national, it demands complete independence for the country as a whole. Some Ahrars have joined the Congress also. In fact on most national issues the Ahrars have fought shoulder to shoulder with Congressmen.

The Conference claims to represent Muslim (d) The Momin depressed classes whose number is large. It stoutly refutes the claim of the Muslim League to speak for Muslim masses.

and characterises it as the organisation of the Muslim aristocrats. It is dead against division of India.

This body was organised during the Khilafat agitation to represent eminent Muslim (e) The Jamiat-ul-Ulmae Hind. divines. Its political leanings are against the partition of India and for complete independence. Its principal leader Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani wields great influence both among the Muslims and the non-Muslims for his learning, piety, character and nationalist views.

It is a private political military organisation founded (f) The Khaksars. ed in 1932 by one who was formerly a permanent member of the Indian Educational Service, known among his followers as Allama Mashruqi. It has grown to considerable proportions. The Khaksars wear uniforms and parade like the Nazi *Arbeitsfront* with spades on their shoulders. They came into violent conflict with the U. P. and the Punjab governments and met police opposition with organised violence. The Punjab government had to resort to firing and clapped the leader in jail. The Central Government declared the organisation illegal, disbanded it and detained the leader in Madras. He has now been released and the organisation allowed to function, but the wearing of uniforms and the carrying of spades is forbidden. The political affiliation of the Khaksars is not known. They enforce discipline among their members strictly, even by public flogging.

In 1940, Nationalist Muslims who stand for Indian

(g) Azad Muslim Conference. unity and independence and belong to various organisations combined under the leadership of Pir Allah Baksh. It is an influential body.

(iii) Communal Organisations (Hindu).

As if in answer to the communal organisation of the Muslims was ushered into existence the Hindu Mahasabha by some Hindu leaders in 1923. It would be more correct to say that the Mahasabha which had existed for some time before this, was given a political importance in this year. The primary object of this organisation is to protect Hindu interests from the attacks made upon them from several quarters, chiefly by the British Government and the Muslims; to consolidate and strengthen the Hindu community by sangathan, shuddhi, and social reforms, to encourage the use of Hindi, to protect the cow and in co-operation with other communities to attain Swaraj for the country. Its membership is open to all Hindus irrespective of their political opinions. Congressmen, Liberals and even loyalists can become its members. It has defined the term 'Hindu' as a person belonging to any religion which originated in India, thus including Sikhs, Jains and Buddhists. Sikhs and Jains had been participating in the Mahasabha activities since long, the Buddhists joined it as recently as the Cawnpore session of 1935 which was presided over by Rev. U. Ottama, a Burmese Buddhist. This session was attended by some other Buddhist delegates from Japan, China and Ceylon.

The Mahasabha has characterised certain demands of the Musalmans as illogical, unpatriotic and even mischievous. Separate communal electorates for legislatures and for local bodies have always been repudiated by the Mahasabha which is for joint electorates, with reservation of seats for minority communities, if necessary. If Musalmans object to music before mosques the Hindu Mahasabha objects to cow-sacrifice by the Musalmans. The Mahasabha is anxious to keep the so-called depressed classes within the Hindu fold and for that purpose it took upon itself the uplift of that portion of the Hindu community long before Mahatma Gandhi entered this field. It is true that since the assumption of this work by the Mahatma and the Congress the mentality of the caste Hindus towards their depressed class brethren has considerably changed for the better but the Hindu Mahasabha has been lending its helping hand to this movement all this time. The Mahasabha has condemned the Communal Award as being a great injustice to the Hindus and Sikhs and has been agitating vehemently for the undoing of it. At two sessions of the Mahasabha an alternative proposal was made that the Indian communal question be solved on the lines approved and adopted by the *League of Nations* in case of the new small states of Central Europe.

The Mahasabha regards the Congress as anti-Hindu and therefore a pro-Muslim body accuses it of having encouraged communalism in Musalmans by

conceding every demand of theirs. The mentality of Congress members of Indian Legislative Assembly on the motion of Mr. Jinnah that the Assembly accepts the Communal Award, in 1935, irritated the Mahasabha-ites to the point of desperation. Even the *Leader* of Allahabad, which is not a Mahasabha paper was constrained to observe in connection with a bye-election to the Legislative Assembly that every vote cast for the Congress candidate will be a vote cast against Hindus.

The Mahasabha was at the height of its popularity in 1926-1927 when such personalities as Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Lala Lajpat Rai were at its head. During that year the elections to legislatures were contested by the Congress and the Mahasabha candidates and the former came out second best. As a matter of fact, in the words of Pandit Moti Lal Nehru, the leader of the Congress party at the time, Congressmen were routed at the elections. Lala Lajpat Rai died as a result of an assault by the police on the occasion of the visit of the Simon Commission and Pandit Malaviya seceded from the Mahasabha in 1930 because he had some fundamental differences with the policy adopted at the Jubbulpur session. Of course it continued to meet yearly in conference and pass resolutions of disapproval of the policies of the Congress, the Muslim League and the Government but its popularity declined and membership fell extremely low.

It revived, however, when Mr. V. D. Savarkar, a

nationalist who had been sentenced in 1909 to transportation for life for some terrorist crime, was elected president in 1936. Mr. Sivarkar, like Mr. Innah, is a great opponent of the Congress but for an opposite reason. In 1938, he announced his intention of reorganising the Mahasabha so as to bring the Government, the Congress and the League to their senses. In one of his speeches he declared that there could be no compromise with the Musalmans, India must be recognised as one country *Hindu stan*, the land of the Hindus, at once their fatherland and holyland, that there was only one nation in India, the Hindu nation and that Muslims were only a minority community and as such must take their place in a single Indian State. His sincerity and fiery eloquence brought many Hindus who had kept aloof from it into the fold of the Mahasabha. In its Nagpur session of 1938 it demanded universal military training in order to counteract the Muslim preponderance in the Indian army and to prepare the way for a full scale national militia.

When the present war broke out in September, 1939, the Working Committee of the Hindu Mahasabha offered to the government its co-operation in the war effort and in order to be successful in that effort demanded the introduction of responsible government at the centre, the revision of the Communal Award, further enlistment of the Hindus in the Indian army and organisation of all the Hindus of India between 18 and 40 years of age into a Hindu National Militia.

In its annual session of 1939, the Mahasabha, besides condemning the policy of the Muslim League, demanded, *inter alia*, the amendment of the Communal Award, the immediate enactment of a constitution for India based on Dominion Status and the Statute of Westminster and the complete Indianisation of the Indian army as soon as possible without any distinction between the so-called martial and non-martial races.

When the Viceroy made his August offer, the Congress rejected it, the Muslim League accepted a part of it and repudiated the rest; the Hindu Mahasabha agreed in regarding the proposals as justifying their co-operation at the centre for the conduct of the war; it accepted Dominion Status as the post-war objective but it insisted that in safeguarding minority rights the claim of the majority must not be ignored.

The Mahasabha maintained this attitude for another year, opposing the Congress Satyagraha, the Muslim League's Pakistan scheme and demanding from Government full-fledged Dominion Status within a year of the termination of war. The 1941 session of the Mahasabha was fixed for Bhagalpur. The Governor of Bihar banned the session. After some fruitless negotiations between the Mahasabha authorities and the Bihar Government the former decided to hold the session in spite of the ban. About 600 delegates including Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee, Vice-president of the Mahasabha and Finance Minister in Bengal, were arrested. They were released on January 5,

1942 when the period of the ban expired. This incident made the Hindu Mahasabha more popular. When, in 1942, the British Government made its new offer—the Cripps offer—the Mahasabha approved a substantial part of it but rejected the scheme as a whole because of the non-adherence of provinces provision in it. "India is one and indivisibleThe Mahasabha cannot be true to itself and to the best interests of Hindustan if it is a party to any proposal which involves the political partition of India in any shape or form," so declared the Mahasabha.

The Mahasabha held its Silver Jubilee session at Amritsar in December, 1943. Owing to illness of Dr. Savarkar, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee presided. At this session the Mahasabha declared its goal as complete independence of India, the same as that of the Congress.

The Hindu Mahasabha has to fight on two fronts. Whereas the Muslim League is blatant only on the point of Muslim rights and privileges and cares little for political advancement of the country, the Sabha engages itself on both the fronts. It is even today as uncompromising as the Muslim League on the question of communal settlement.

Some young taluqdars of Oudh formed this league recently with Mr. M. S. Aney as President as a counterblast to the Congress on the one hand and the Muslim League on the other. After a precarious existence of

(ii) All-India
Hindu League.

a year or two, it connected itself with the All-India Nationalist League with Sriyut Jamna Das Mehta as President.

There are similar other organisations of no importance, e.g. the Akhand Hindustan recently started by Mr. K. M. Munshi to fight Pakistan, the Varna Ashrama Swaraj Sangha, the political organisation of orthodox Hindus aiming at attainment of Swaraj and retention of caste system; but they carry little influence.

iv. Other Political Organisations

There are other political organisations mostly communal or sectional, such as the European Defence Association, Zemindars' Associations, the Depressed Classes Conference, the Domiciled Anglo-Indian Association, the Akali party, the Unionists, the Proja Party, the Radical League, and States Peoples Conference. They exist and agitate for their own special rights and privileges and work on the same lines as the more important associations do

CHAPTER VII

ECONOMIC LIFE IN INDIA

Nature has not been niggardly in endowing India with advantages for the production of wealth enough not only for the needs of her own people but even to spare.¹ She has a great variety and an almost immeasurable area of land which can yield plenty of food and material for raiment. She has forests which not only supply timber, fuel, lac, turpentine, useful drugs and the like but assist the soil in retaining its moisture, and keep temperature low and help rainfall. There are large rivers capable of supplying water for irrigation, of providing power for industrial purposes and of acting as means of transport. Her mountains are natural reservoirs of water sending down into the plains rivers and waterfalls. Her mineral resources are such as can make any country industrially great. Petroleum is found in Assam, Beluchistan and the Punjab. Coal mines, chiefly found in Behar, yield an ever-increasing supply of this useful fuel all the year round. Among industrial ores, the yield of iron is the largest in the world after those of the U. S. A. and France. India's yield of manganese is second only to that of Russia. In mica, so useful for electrical development, India is exceedingly rich. Although elementary sulphur deposits are poor, there

waste in a variety of ways. The cultivator is illiterate, ignorant, lacks in enterprise and initiative and is too much wedded to traditional methods and practices many of which have outlived their usefulness or are positively wasteful and unproductive. His unhealthy and unsanitary ways of living make him a victim of preventible diseases which results in reducing his vitality and therefore his efficiency. He is improvident and on occasions even extravagant. These habits of his, coupled with his abysmal poverty places him in the clutches of the village money lender who bleeds him white and leaves him nothing. The laws of tenancy and revenue have been so far wholly unfavourable to the actual cultivator. As the Famine Commission of 1901 observed; "In good years he (the cultivator) has nothing to hope for except a bare subsistence; in bad years he falls back on public charity". The assessments are heavy. Dr. Radha Kamal Mukerji points out, "In Madras, Bombay and the U. P. in particular, assessments have gone up by leaps and bounds". The demands of absentee landlords and middlemen in addition to those of the state add to the miseries of the cultivator. Absence of marketing facilities forces the producer to sell his crop on the spot at low prices. The result of all these accumulated causes is seen in the multiplication of landless labourers from decade to decade.

There is no doubt that things today are not the same as they were 50 years ago. Improvements have taken place in many

(iv) Steps taken to improve agriculture

directions. The government has adopted a number of measures for this object. Irrigation facilities have been extended and even created where they did not exist. For construction of new and repairs of old wells government has advanced loans in the form of taccavi and exemption from extra assessments. Tanks have been built for the same purpose. A number of canals, small and large, have been constructed; the Sarda canal in U. P. completed in 1923 is designed to irrigate about 13 million acres of land. The problem of small holdings has been tackled in several ways. Experiments were made in the Punjab and U.P., to form co-operative societies for consolidation of small holdings. But in the nature of things the pace of progress under the voluntary basis was slow. Legislation has also been enacted in several provinces under which standard units have been fixed as being the minimum area that can be cultivated profitably as separate plots. Agricultural indebtedness, estimated by the Central Banking Enquiry Committee report to be Rs. 900 crores is a stumbling block in the way of agricultural development. Government has adopted now and then several measures for the reduction of this huge liability of the rural population. It has taken steps to encourage the avoidance of unnecessary debts. Apart from propaganda against the habit of contracting debts several provinces have actually enacted laws on the subject. The Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act, the Punjab Land Alienation Act, the U. P. Agriculturists Relief and Debt Redemption Acts are

some instances Co-operative banks and societies have been established in all provinces for advancing money to the agriculturists on terms easier than those on which such loans were raised before. Several provinces including the U. P. have radically amended their tenancy laws so as to provide greater conveniences to the agriculturists. Rural Development Boards have been established in many provinces whose function is to popularise improved methods of agriculture, more sanitary living and to take steps for the general welfare of the rural population

2. Large Scale Industries.

It is admitted on all hands that not until a very recent past, India manufactured goods not only for her own consumption but exported them to other countries as well. The late Mr. R. C. Dutt wrote: "India in the 18th century was a great manufacturing as well as a great agricultural country and the Indian handlooms supplied the markets of Asia and Europe". It was her great wealth which tempted the European nations to send their traders to India. Other nations, the Danes, the French and the Dutch did not survive long. But the British East India Company came to stay in the country first as a trading corporation and afterwards as a ruler. The company, backed by the British capitalists pursued a policy of making India subservient to the interests of Great Britain. The advent of the Industrial Revolution in England followed by the development of steam power resulted in cheap mass productions and increased

facilities in the means of communications and transport. Indian industries which were wholly confined to cottage handlooms could not stand the competition of machine-made goods. Once removed from the market, the East India Company saw to it that Indian industries did not revive. The government used its political power to manipulate its tariff policy in a way wholly beneficial to Britain and fatal to the interests of India. India was helplessly watching her artisans and other skilled labourers to revert to agriculture or to the profession of landless labourers. When the people awakened to their miserable plight and pleaded for revival of her lost industries the Government adopted a *laissez faire* attitude which again helped Britain more than India. The Government never realised that the industrial backwardness of India was a source of weakness even for Imperial purposes. Mechanised large scale industry made its appearance in India two generations after the advent of Industrial Revolution in England. The first few mills established on the west coast of India could be called Indian only in the sense that they were situated on Indian soil. The capital was British, the management was British, only the raw material and low class labour was Indian. When the World War broke out in 1914, and the needs of Great Britain demanded the development of India's local materials, the British Government awoke and realised the implications of its wrong policy. Mr. Montagu complained as late as in 1918 "How

much more India could do for us and for herself now, had her industries only been developed in the past". "When India set out", Mr. Montague added, 'to make things, railway engines, trucks and even rails she found herself requiring machinery from overseas which it was impossible to get on the necessary scale."

An Industrial Commission was appointed in 1918 which made certain recommendations for the development of Indian Industries. But the fiscal policy of the Government stood in the way of implementing the recommendations of the Commission. Consequently a Fiscal Commission was appointed in 1923 which recommended "discriminating protection" to certain Indian industries. The recommendation was accepted and several industries were examined and conditional protection was given to some for a specified time. Steel, cotton, sugar, paper and matches were some of them. The result was wholly good. In course of time India was granted fiscal autonomy and the re-arrangement of tariffs gave a great fillip to several industries. Cotton, jute, iron and steel, leather, chemicals, oil milling, paper, glass, matches, woollens and silk have made considerable progress since. In 1914, there were 27 cotton mills in India which produced 1164 million yards of cloth, in 1941-42, 389 mills manufactured 4493 million yards. Again in 1913-14 India imported 3159 million yards of cotton cloth. In 1942-43, the corresponding figure was only 13 million. In the

same year, India exported 818 million yards of cotton piece goods. Steel and iron goods tell a similar tale. There are about half a dozen steel factories, the largest being the Tata Steel Works at Jamshedpur. The production of pig iron was 35,000 tons in the beginning of the century, in 1942-43 it was 2 40,000 tons. The imports of pig iron are now almost negligible. The production of steel advanced from 1394 tons in 1916-17 to 6000 tons in 1942-43. Sugar industry has recorded the highest degree of progress so much so that there are not only no imports of this commodity from other countries but India actually exports it. Progress, more or less, has been effected in several other industries such as glass, cement and the like.

3. Cottage Industries.

For centuries, India was the home of cottage industries which were of varied character. Dr. Radha Kamal Mukerji has classified cottage industries and handicrafts into four classes, (1) Crafts affording subsidiary occupation to cultivators, such as spinning and weaving, (2) Village subsistence industries like those of blacksmith's, carpenter's, weaver's, tanner's, potter's and the like, (3) Village art industries such as sericulture and silk industry, carpet weaving, metal work, glass bangles, manufacture of shawls, cotton printing and (4) Urban arts and crafts like embroidery, brocade, gold plated thread and the like. These industries had their hay-day in India until the advent of the East

India Company. To-day they have very nearly disappeared for the causes already described elsewhere. Even today, when there is a universal cry for revival of cottage industries they are not showing signs of rapid development. The progress of large scale industries has also had a damping influence on them. There are people who believe that mechanisation of all industries as in England and America will make India economically self-sufficient. This is a mistaken view. India's large labour, her ancient skill and art cannot be absorbed in such industries. As an ancillary occupation for agriculturists the preservation and promotion of cottage industries is essential. The cultivator works on the field for 8 months in the year and that too not continuously. His income is so low that he must supplement it by doing some other remunerative work. Handspinning, weaving, flour grinding, rice pounding, basket making, sericulture are some of the works which he can do and usually does. Mahatma Gandhi's insistence on the universal use of Khaddar and the activities of the All-India Spinners and Village Industries Association have helped the cultivator to add something to his meagre agricultural income. Unlike capitalist countries India has surplus of labour and not of capital. This labour mostly resides in villages. It cannot all be shifted to urban areas which are the centres of mechanised industries without dislocating the rural economy. Leaving alone the present time of war which has for the time abolished the problem of unemployment this

problem is bound to crop up as soon as war services are demobilised. Village industries must be able to absorb usefully a large portion of this man power. Village industries being congenial to the village people can take root and develop more easily. They require small capital outlay. The labour supply is plentiful.

4. Trade and Commerce.

It has been observed in a previous paragraph that India had, until the advent of the East India Company, considerable trade both internal and external. She exported several of her manufactures, notably cloth, metal ware and dyestuffs to other countries. In return she imported minerals like tin, brass and lead, wines and horses in which she was deficient. That her exports exceeded her imports is evident from the fact that a large quantity of gold flowed into the country. This external trade she carried in her own ships. For her internal and coastal trade, she made full use of her rivers and roads. The policy followed by the East India Company did not take very long to reverse the position of India. The policy, first of destroying Indian industries, then of subsidising British industries followed by that of free trade and excise duties on Indian goods accelerated the pace of the destruction of the former favourable balance of trade. Only once during the first world war (1914-18) India showed an increase in the export of her manufactures. This increase is explained by the artificial stimulus given to some Indian industries like cotton and

jute for purposes of war. There were again periods of depression and inflation. The present war has considerably curtailed the external trade of India. Most of the continental markets and those of Japan and Burma have for the time disappeared. The loss incurred by India on this account has been estimated at about Rs. 30 crores a year. Half the export trade in oil seeds, raw jute and cotton waste, over a third in raw cotton, a third in cotton manufacture, coffee, oil cakes and raw hides has gone. Similarly imports have declined owing to the unavailability of continental markets and a number of restrictions placed on imports from allied or neutral countries.

The Government of India is alive to this dwindling of the external trade of India and has in its own way taken measures with a view to rehabilitate it. In July, 1940, a deputation was sent to the U. S. A. to see and report if there was room for Indian goods in that country. This deputation which consisted of Dr. Gregory and Sir David Meek reported that America had already a surplus of those goods which India could send. In the same year, the Export Advisory Council was appointed by the government for making suggestions for the expansion of manufacturing industries of India and finding markets for the same. The activities of this Council have resulted in some good but much more remains to be done. The Government have adopted other measures with a view to improve Indian trade. Several departments are busy not only

in finding market for Indian goods but also in collecting and disseminating information helpful to the manufacturer and the trader. The Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics collects and publishes statistics bearing on overseas and internal trade. The Geological Survey department collects and disseminates information regarding the mineral resources of the country and controls the mineral policy of the Government of India. There is an Indian Stores Department whose function is to purchase in India and abroad various kinds of stores for the requirements of central and provincial governments and other government institutions at cheaper rates than otherwise. A number of Trade Commissioners have been appointed in various countries whose chief duty is to watch the interests of Indian trade in those countries.

There are non-official bodies in India who look after the interests of Indian trade and commerce, who advise the Government with regard to its policies and disseminate useful information nonofficially. There are a number of Chambers of Commerce—European, Indian, provincial and local which have taken upon themselves the duty of focussing commercial opinion in India and of making suggestions to the Government in regard to problems affecting the commercial and industrial development of the country.

✓ The chief articles of export from India are grains, pulses, flour, tea, raw hides and skins, seeds, cotton,

raw, jute and jute manufactures; while imports consist of cotton yarns and manufactures, provision and oil man's store, sugar, oils, cotton, chemicals, cutlery, hardware and implements, dyes and colours, machinery, iron and steel manufactures, paper and pasteboards, vehicles, yarns and textiles other than cotton.

5. Transport.

Easy and cheap means of communication and transport are no less necessary for the development of agriculture, industries and trade than land, labour, capital and raw materials. For a country like India which is a land of distances their importance is all the greater. India till as late as the middle of the 18th century lived on village and cottage industries the products of which were mostly consumed in confined localities. True these village manufacturers exported their surplus goods to other places and to other countries also. They did so in the old fashion of periodical means of transport, along roads and rivers. Most of the former were only fair weather roads which allowed bullock carts to travel for six or eight months in the year. Of her ships and docks we will speak later. Since then there have been considerable improvements, almost a revolution in the means of communication and transport. The chief means of transport will be considered under the following heads, viz, railways, roads, waterways and air transport.

Railways were first built in India in the forties
 (1) Railways of the 19th century by private foreign
 companies under certain guarantees
 by the Government. Lord Dalhousie believed that
 "the conduct of commercial undertakings did not fall
 within the proper functions of any government " The
 great famine of 1878 when food grains could not be
 moved to famine areas, however, compelled government
 to make attempts to develop railways and since then
 there has been a continuous development From no
 interference to subsidisation and then to nationalisation
 of railways are radical changes. To-day, the State owns
 and manages the bulk of trunk lines. There are others
 owned by the Government but managed by companies,
 still others which are both owned and managed by com-
 panies. But the policy of the Government is gradually
 to take over and manage all the railways. Railways
 help the country during famines by quick conveyance
 of food stuffs to the affected areas, and by equalisation
 of prices all over the country. By extending passenger
 and goods traffic they stimulate both internal and ex-
 ternal trade. They help the agriculturist by widening
 the market for his goods. The growth of industrialisa-
 tion is very much the result of railway development.
 Even as it is the distance covered by railways is very
 small compared to the needs of the country.

It was again during the regime of Lord Dalhousie
 (2) Roads, that something like a regular policy of
 road development was adopted and

pushed forward by the Government. With the expansion of railway lines need for roads was felt to feed these railways. Since then road development has been a regular concern of the Government. Under the Government of India Act, 1919, the maintenance and construction of roads was made a provincial subject in charge of ministers. But it was soon discovered that provincial finances could not well cope with expansion of roads. The Road Development Committee appointed by the Government of India recommended in their Report (1927) that road development should be financed more and more by the Central Government. The Government of India accepted this and several other recommendations of the Committee and since then road development has proceeded rapidly except for the present war time (1944), so much so that efforts were made to start an automobile factory for turning over motor vehicles but the war stood in the way and the project could not materialise. In 1935-37 there were 82,299 miles of metalled roads and about 2,31,882 miles of kachcha roads in India.

The only rivers which are navigable by steamers all the year round are the Indus, the
 (c) Waterways
 (a) Inland
 Transport Chenab, the Sutlej, the Ganges, the
 Hoogly and the Brahmaputra and these
 for some lengths above their mouths. Other rivers
 do not lend themselves to navigation. These water-
 ways have been used since a long time for carrying

goods and passengers from one place to another. Other smaller streams are used now and then by small indigenous craftsmen for the same purpose.

The Industrial Commission of 1918 recommended the development of these inland waterways and the construction of new navigable canals. Recently the National Planning Committee (1938) suggested the regulation, development and control of rivers and waterways through provincial and interprovincial commissions for the benefit of agriculture and industries. Water carriage facilities are more suitable for India and less expensive than railways and have the further advantage, that they could at times be combined with irrigation. A few navigable canals have been recently constructed; the Ganges Canal which extends from Hardwar to Cawnpur and the Buckingham Canal on the east coast of Madras are the most important.

India possesses an extensive seaboard although natural harbours are few. There was
 (b) Marine Transport, a time when India's seaborne trade was very considerable, the port of Calcutta alone, as the Governor General of India wrote in 1800, contained "about 10,000 tons of shipping, built in India, of a description calculated for the conveyance of Cargos to England". The industry gradually declined why, it is the same old story of the British shipping interests and other causes. In 1938-39, the share of British vessels in the foreign seaborne trade which entered India was 66%, of other countries 30% and of India

36%. The same figures are applicable to India's exports. Indian coastal trade is mostly in the hands of British navigation companies who make considerable profits. The fiscal policy is manipulated by the government in such a manner that Indian traders are at a disadvantage. The ship-building trade is consequently very poor. Attempts have been made during the last 20 years to improve the Indian shipping industry with little success. In 1923 in response to persistent agitation the Government of India appointed the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee to suggest ways and means for the promotion of the Indian shipping and shipbuilding industries. A shipbuilding yard has been established at Vizagapatam. Beyond this the recommendations of the Committee have remained ineffective. In 1923, Mr Haji introduced his bill in the Central Legislative Assembly demanding the reservation of 75% of coastal traffic in the hands of British Indians. But the Government did not take any steps in the matter. Other attempts were made but with hardly better results. The industry is capable of indefinite expansion and needs attention both of the Government and the public.

This is an entirely new industry in India, having
 (i) ¹⁹¹⁷ ~~1918~~ ¹⁹¹⁹ made its first appearance after the
 great war of 1914-18. In other
 countries of Europe and in America, the development
 of aviation has created a revolution in the transport
 system. It has annihilated time. What railways

and ships could do in three months airships can do in three days. In India, there is a growing organisation of the trunk air lines and there are regular internal services for mails and passengers between some of the principal towns. During the present war, air service has been utilised for transport purposes also but its value for this object has now been recognised by the Government and the people. The Posts and Air Department of the Government of India has in view as a post-war measure a net work of air connections between the commercial and political centres of India and with extensions to capitals of adjacent countries. When this plan materialises the air services would cover an air route mileage of 10,500 with an annual flying mileage of 75,00,000 effecting the total transport to $12\frac{1}{2}$ million ton-miles a year. This ton-mileage will be 15 times of pre-war figure. The government intends leaving the development of local air services to local and private enterprise in which government will give some assistance. The services may be established and operated either by State, a statutory corporation, a single monopoly company or a limited number of companies. This scheme will, it is hoped, ease the transport problem of India to a very great extent.

6. Poverty of India.

From what has been related in these pages the conclusion is easy that whereas India is rich, her people are poor in the economic sense of the word. The peasant earns little as the fruits of his labour on

the soil, the greater part of his income being taken away by others and what little he saves is insufficient even to meet his bare physical necessities. Lack of resources, ignorance, illiteracy, addiction to old habits and lack of health make him incapable of improving his economic position. The village artisan sails in the same boat. The large scale manufacturer and the trader prince has no doubt prospered but even his income is much below the income of a "trade king" of America. The average per capita income has been computed many times by many competent authorities. A hundred years ago Dadabhai Naoroji computed it at Rs. 20 per year. The latest estimate is that of Mr. V. K. R. V. Rao for 1931-32. According to him the net income of British India for that year was between Rs. 16,000 and 18,000 millions or Rs. 65 per head. This income was neither of the village peasant nor that of a merchant prince. It was only an average. The significance of this low income will be realised if we compare it with the income per capita in other countries of the world. For Japan it was Rs. 182 (1925), for the United Kingdom Rs. 988 (1931), for the U. S. A. Rs. 1175 (1932) and for Australia it was no less than Rs. 1274 (1924). During the last 10 years, the prices of agriculture produce have risen, the rents have been reduced and several other factors have helped in the improvement of the economic position of the peasant, and his average income must have gone up, but the increase of the population of

India by 15 millions during the same period has partly counteracted that improvement. There is no doubt that the average farmer, labourer, artisan, trader or handicraftsman is better off than his father was fifty years ago. He consumes more salt, more sugar, more tobacco and far more imported luxuries and conveniences than his ancestor did. Where house to house enquiries have been made it has been found that the average villager eats more food and has a better house than his father, that to a considerable extent brass and other metal vessels have taken place of the coarse earthenware vessels of earlier times and that his family has more clothes than formerly. There are people in India who question the correctness of this rosy picture and who believe not only that the poverty of India has remained where it was but has actually increased. It is indeed difficult to find out the exact truth. But whether the average per capita income has increased or not the following picture presented by Dr. Spencer Hatch* after an extensive study of village conditions does not err either in exaggeration or in minimisation. In the rural area, he says "the food supply is insufficient, it is poorly distributed and a large portion of the people, probably onethird, is underfed. Furthermore the analysis shows that diet of most of the people is not a balanced ration and does not adequately nourish the body even when taken in quantity.

* Up From Poverty p. 34

"Clothing, though less needed during some than other parts of the year, is very essential to health and comfort in the coldest and rainy seasons; and a large percentage of the people have not the means to secure the needed clothing. There is much suffering and illness, and heavy mortality as a result.

"Large numbers are improperly and unhealthily housed. Few of the poor possess land of their own, and those who rent generally do not have large enough plots to produce a decent living for their families, or to give the cultivator and his family any thing like full-time employment. The need for subsidiary (home) vocations is great.

"Rural labourers hardly make a living wage for the very lowest standard of living. They generally have no surplus and no chance of saving. Many of them are under a form of serfdom.

"Live stock and poultry are generally poor in breed, poorly kept, unproductive, often a positive loss.

"Agricultural implements and cultivation methods are exceedingly primitive requiring much unnecessarily hard labour without the prospect of full yield from the soil."

7. The Economic Future.

We have in the preceding paragraphs given a bird's eye view of the various problems which bear on the economic life of India. There is no doubt things have improved during the last fifty years in several directions. But what has been done so far is

not even a small fraction of what is required. The progress has so far been extremely slow as in the very nature of things it was bound to be. The government which is the most important agency to undertake and tackle problems of such immensity has been and still is foreign in character and outlook, responsible *not to the people of India but to the the people of England*. It has so far done things in a manner which is not in accordance with the needs of the people. The attempts have been half-hearted and haphazard. The first requisite, therefore, for the economic advancement of the country is to do away with the present system of government, lock stock and barrel and to replace it by a free national government, responsible to no outside body. It is only such a government which can successfully accomplish the huge task of economic construction of the country. It is certain that such a government will come in power as soon as the present war is over or even earlier. The country must therefore begin now, as other countries are doing, to think out or even to chalk out practical plans for the future. There are people who think industrialisation will prove a panacea to all economic ills of the country. They are mistaken. Situated as she is neither agriculturalisation nor industrialisation alone would prove beneficial to India. What is needed is a well-balanced economy of agriculture, large scale and cottage industries as each is essential for supplementing the other. The task of rural reconstruction has so far been absolutely starved for lack

of finances but it can no longer wait. Irrigation must be expanded. Afforestation schemes must be launched. When this has been achieved, steps must be taken to extend the area under cultivation and for improving the yield per acre. To succeed in it better methods of farming including the proper rotation of crops, use of better varieties of seeds and manures will have to be resorted to and model farms will have to be established or extended. The use of primary co-operative societies and village banks must be extended in a way so that even the small villages may take advantage of them. The laws of land assessment will have to be considerably modified. Marketing facilities will have to be considerably expanded. Railways, roads, shipping and air-transport need immense expansion. Primary education of rural character will have to be made compulsory and free and extended to all adults. Technical education of the right kind will have to be extended. These are but a few among the numerous problems which will have to be tackled by our future government. It is true that all this cannot be achieved in a few years but if India is to live all this will have to be done and cost will have to be found.

Similarly, the best brains of India must now chalk out a policy and a plan of rapid industrial development. Key industries will claim their first consideration. The future national government will have to inaugurate a general survey of industrial resources and potential lines of progress and then build industries

accordingly. Attention will have to be paid to the development of cottage industries as well. The vision is there. Realisation will need strenuous and continued exertions on the part of the state as well as far-sighted and capable leaders.

The work of the National Planning Committee of which Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru is the President has been cut short prematurely by the Government's policy of shutting the Congress leaders behind prison bars. The All India Spinners' Association and All-India Village Industries Association are also in a moribund condition for the same reason. Recently, however (1944), eight eminent industrialists of India headed by Sir Purushottamdas Thakurdas have placed before the country a fifteen years plan for industrialising India. This plan needs serious examination from all points of view and adopted with necessary modifications.

CHAPTER VIII

EDUCATION, LITERATURE AND ART

(a) Education.

By far the most important factor which moulds the civic life and character of a nation is the education imparted to its members. The quality, the quantity and the extent of this education are all important elements for this purpose. Education is the foundation on which is based the development of social, economic and political life of a country. If the majority of the population of a country are uneducated, illiterate and ignorant, as is the case in India, it is obvious that that country can not make any progress in any direction. Again, if the education is not of the right type, the educated citizen may prove a liability instead of an asset to the state. Unfortunately in India the illiteracy is almost abysmal. The education that has been imparted to the few during the British period and is being imparted to-day is, as will be observed presently, not of the right type. The East India Company started with a fundamentally wrong policy in education and although the British Government in India made several attempts to rectify that mistake the system of education prevailing to-day is admitted on all hands to be far from satisfactory. The Central Advisory

Board of Education in India have expressed the same opinion in their report published in January, 1944. We shall, in this chapter, notice briefly the character of education as prevailed during the Hindu and Muslim periods of history, the original policy of the East India Company, trace the various measures adopted from time to time in this respect and try to indicate the results of this education.

1. Education in Ancient Hindu India.

Hindus have always regarded education not as a luxury for the few but as a necessity for all the citizens, the only distinction being that its character varied with the classes of people. Their code of education provided elementary education in the three or rather the four R's—reading, writing, 'rithmetic and religion to all and special proficiency in literature, philosophy, science, arts and vocations to every man according to the class of society to which he belonged or the vocation which he followed. For teaching of arts and sciences on large scale there were *pathshalas*, *vidyapiths* and universities where students assembled to receive education from renowned scholars and experts. The more practical and vocational part of the training was generally imparted at the homes or workshops, gymnasia, or guilds or at government departments, by experts in the various branches. Generally, however, a teacher taught his pupils at his own place of abode. As a rule, the pupils lived with the *guru* until the completion of their

studies. Education was binding on the twice-born castes and each Varna gained proficiency in subjects necessary for its professional duties in addition to a general preliminary all-round knowledge.

There were, in ancient India, a number of centres of high education corresponding to our modern schools, colleges and universities, many of them specialising in particular branches of knowledge. Benares or the sacred Kashi was perhaps the most important and the largest centre for the teaching of religion, philosophy and literature and as such it attracted pupils from all parts of the country and even from abroad. The verdict of the Benares pandits is, even to-day, regarded as final whenever there is a controversy with regard to a subject relating to Sanskrit literature. Kashmir was another centre which attracted large concourse of pupils from all parts of the country. Ujjain specialised in astronomy and Nuddia in *dharma shastras* and logic. Buddhist universities of Nalanda and Vikramasila trained students even from China, Tibet, Siam and Java. The Taxila University produced, among others, the grammarian Panini, the politicians Chanakya and the Doctor Jewak whose works in their particular subjects are, even to-day, regarded as authority.

Although there have been women in Hindu India who were highly educated in religion, philosophy and other sciences, higher education among them was more an exception than a rule. Maitreyi, Gargi, Arundhati, Draupadi were

Female Education.

probably the products of their environments such as their parents' personal influence. But it appears that an elementary education in reading, writing and accounting, necessary for an efficient discharge of domestic duties, was compulsory. Vatsayana mentioning the character of such education includes in it a thorough knowledge of domestic sciences, such as cookery and sewing and such fine arts as music, painting, drawing over and above the knowledge of the three R's.

Education in Hindu India was purely a concern of the people, the State giving only indirect assistance in the shape of money or property grants to scholars, teachers or institutions without claiming or exercising any control on them. Each institution enjoyed and exercised full freedom of organisation, control and initiative. No wonder, there were distinct schools of thought in various branches of learning. The sources of income of educational institutions, extremely simple as life in them was, were public and private munificences in the forms of gifts of corn, free lands and even villages. The requirements of both the teachers and the taught were confined to the bare necessities of life. There was no such thing as regular fees payable by the students. The education was mostly free, the student returning the services of the teachers by his personal service and possibly some present to the guru on completion of his education. High expenses on bricks and mortar were unknown, the guru's house or his ashram in the forest was the university.

2. Muhammadan Period.

The successive waves of Mohammadan invasion, culminating in the establishment of the Mughal Empire which lasted for several hundred years, left untouched the ancient system of education. Side by side with it the Mohammadans introduced their own institutions for teaching Arabic and Persian; these were based on different ideals and methods. Their system was, no doubt, more democratic than the Hindu system, so far as they themselves were concerned. No class of persons, however low in social status, was on principle, debarred from receiving education of the highest order in those languages. As a matter of fact, every Musalman boy was required to read or, at least, to recite the Holy Quran. A famous western Indologist has expressed the opinion that before the British came to India there were as many as 80,000 schools (*maktabs* and *madarsas*) in Bengal alone or a school for every 400 children and the majority of the people in villages were literate. This education, however, was mostly religious and cultural in character. Scholars who, after finishing their elementary education in *maktabs*, desired to receive higher education went to *madarsas* which were seminaries for higher education, and where logic, literature, philosophy, philology, grammar, etc. were taught by learned divines. Agra, Delhi, Lucknow, Jaunpur, Badaun Deoband, Amroha and Multan were some of the centres of Muslim high education. The Muslim

kings and nobles patronised education by building mosques with *maktabs* attached to them and later by giving grants to these mosques and by granting stipends to scholars and by engaging well-known poets and scholars on regular salaries. They also allowed the tutors of their sons and relations to take other students of the same age to impart them similar education. Akbar encouraged the cultivation of fine arts also such as painting, drawing, calligraphy and music.

It is unfortunate that Muslim rulers and nobility, with a few honourable exceptions, confined their educational benefactions only to Musalman boys. Some of them actually discouraged Hindu educational institutions in the belief that they bred non-believers. If, therefore, Hindus, during this period kept the torch of learning lit, it was entirely due to their own private efforts. The flame, however, began to flicker.

Female education during the Muslim period was not given the attention which it deserved. The *pardah* system among them stood in the way of women beyond a certain age being sent to schools. The illiteracy among them was, therefore, almost universal. But the ladies in royal house-holds and other high families were an exception. They were educated and cultured. Regular education was arranged for them and there are many names among royal princesses which will shine for ever in the firmament of high liberal education. Gulbadan Begum, the daughter of Babar, who wrote

Humayun Namah was not only a cultured lady of high education but had a splendid library of her own. Nurjehan, the celebrated wife of Jehangir, was well versed in Persian and Arabic literatures. Mumtaz Mahal was again a poetess of repute. Jehan Ara's couplet, composed as her own epitaph, is a proof of her high education. Zebunnisa's verses have been translated into English.

3. The British Period.

With the advent of the British in India came new Missionary
activities. ideas, new policies and new methods in the field of education. For a considerable time the task of consolidating the Empire left the British officials hardly any time to devote to such activities as educational and social uplift of the people. The initiative was taken by the Christian Missionaries of Europe and America who were helped by their respective countries and governments with money grants. Their aim was not so much to confer the benefits of liberal education on Indians as to convert the people to the Christian faith. The method they adopted was to prejudice the youngmen of India against their own literature, civilisation and culture and to foster in them a spirit of admiration for the literature, civilisation and culture of the west. To this extent they were successful in their mission.

The first official attempt was, perhaps, the foundation, in 1781, of the Calcutta Madrasah by Warren Hastings partly with First Official
attempt.

a view to produce Muslim officers for the courts of justice. The Sanskrit College at Benares was established in 1792, with the assent of Lord Cornwallis. These institutions catered only for a few and confined their attention to Oriental classical languages Arabic and Sanskrit. In the Charter of 1813 of the East India Company a clause was inserted for the first time authorising the Company to make a grant of one lakh of rupees for the revival and improvement of literature and the encouragement of learned Indians and for introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India. The money thus available was, however, again utilised for the teaching of Oriental classical languages, mass education was not touched at all.

In 1835, Lord Macaulay, then the Law Member of the Government of India, wrote his famous minute on Indian education in which he recommended the adoption of the medium of the English language for education in India. His policy of anglicising the educational system was approved and subsequently adopted by the Government of Bengal. Lord Macaulay's pious wishes to enable India one day to demand self-government by the adoption of the system of education advocated by him are well known and oft quoted. But he is explicit enough when he describes his hopes and wishes in the following words: "No Hindu", he wrote in 1836,

' who has received an English education ever remains sincerely attached to his religion....." "It is my firm belief," he added that "if our plans of education are followed up there will not be a single idolator among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence. And this will be effected without any effort for proselytisation, without the smallest interference in the religious liberty, merely by the natural operation of knowledge and reflection". There was another motive which was responsible for the policy and programme of education thus drawn up and followed. The nature and extent of education given was meant for producing candidates who could help in the working of the British administration on small salaries and in Macaulay's own words "to form a class who may be interpreters between us and the millions we govern and a class of persons Indian in blood and colour but English in taste, opinion, words and intellect " It was intended to make of Indians blotting sheet impressions of Englishmen and to foster sentiments of loyalty to British rule among the educated classes and through their influence, among the masses.

This policy went on till 1853 when there was a Parliamentary enquiry into the condition of India which preceded the confirmation of the Company's Charter. As a result of this enquiry into the development of Indian education, Sir Charles Wood sent his great Despatch

1854 Despatch.

of 1854 to the East India Company on the problem of Indian education from the primary to the university stage. This led to the establishment of the Departments of Public Instruction in all the provinces, the foundation of the three great universities at Madras, Bombay and Calcutta and a rapid growth in the number of Anglo-Vernacular schools and colleges, both government and private, all over India. It prescribed increased attention to vernacular education both primary and secondary and the institution of a system of grants-in-aid, it expressed sympathy for the cause of female education, advocated institutions for the training of teachers and for technical instruction and insisted on a policy of perfect religious neutrality. The whole of the present system of education in British India is based on this Despatch.

In 1882 an Education Commission was appointed to review the progress of education since 1854. This Commission which was presided over by Sir William Hunter endorsed the policy of the 1854 Despatch and recommended more complete fulfilment of that policy. The proposals of the Commission which have had the greatest effect on subsequent government policy were those relating to the expansion of primary education, its management by local bodies, the development of the grants-in-aid system and the stimulation of private enterprise.

In 1901, Lord Curzon summoned an Educational

Indian Universities Commission of 1902.

Conference which was followed by the appointment of the Indian Universities Commission of 1902. the publication of a resolution on Indian educational policy in March, 1904, and the passing of the Indian Universities Act in the same year.

The Resolution accepted in the main the policy laid down by the Commission of 1882 but emphasised the necessity for adequate safeguards. It laid down that in each branch of education government should maintain a limited number of institutions in order both to serve as models for private enterprise to follow and to uphold a high standard of education. While withdrawing direct government management, it was considered essential that government should retain a general control, by means of efficient inspection, over all public educational institutions. The Resolution suggested certain changes in the curriculum of the secondary education and dealt with technical, commercial and agricultural education, the extension of facilities for the training of teachers and establishment of hostels for schools and colleges. It also endorsed the main recommendations of the Universities Commission of 1902, viz., that the University Senates should be limited in size, that the Universities should have teaching in addition to their examining powers. The Universities Act of 1904 tightened the government control on the universities and of the latter on schools and colleges.

As the result of expansion of education in India a new Department of Education was created in 1911 in the Government of India, in charge of an Education Member of the Governor-General's Council. In 1913, the Government of India, after again surveying the whole field of education in India, issued another Resolution announcing the Government's decision to assist local governments by larger grants, as funds become available, to extend comprehensive schemes of education in the several provinces. There was, however, hardly any important change in the policy.

During the European War of 1914-18 it was felt that the time had come for a policy of political reform, for a greater devolution of responsibilities on Indians and for better provision of right type of education by the Indian universities. The Government, in 1917, set up the Calcutta University Commission, under the chairmanship of Sir Machael Sadler, which reported in 1919. The Commission recommended complete overhauling of the machinery of higher education in Bengal. It proposed the separation of the High School and Intermediate education from the university and the creation of a separate High School and Intermediate Education Board to control it. It advocated the conversion of the affiliating university into an unitary, residential and teaching one.

Although the Calcutta University did not accept

the recommendations of the Sadler Commission, the U. P. Government was the first in India to act upon them, constitute the High School and Intermediate Education Board, to start at Lucknow an unitary, residential and teaching university and to convert the University of Allahabad also into such a university, transferring to Agra, its affiliating powers. Some other provinces followed U. P. later on.

By the Government of India Act of 1919, education was made a provincial subject and has since then been, in every province, in charge of a Minister responsible to the legislature. These Ministers, in spite of financial handicaps have done a good deal for the expansion of education, (although there have been no revolutionary changes in the policy, except in some provinces) for the substitution of vernacular for English as the medium of instruction upto the High School and now Intermediate examination and for the encouragement of mother tongue in other ways, such as making vernaculars subjects of examination for B. A. and M. A. degrees.

In 1927, the Indian Statutory (Simon) Commission appointed an Auxiliary Committee under the chairmanship of Sir Phillip Hartog to report on the growth of education in British India and to submit the result of its investigation to the Commission with a view to enable the latter to put forward proposals which may result in producing a competent electorate and trustworthy representatives

and officers. The Committee submitted its report in December, 1928, making certain recommendations to be carried into effect when the reformed constitution was to come into force.

Let us now look at the system of education that prevails today.

Present System.

In most of the modern universities and in several of the older ones, the Governor-General is the Visitor with powers of inspection. In Patna and Bombay, however, these powers are vested in the Governors of the provinces. In Benares and Aligarh, the Governor-General is the Lord Rector and in Delhi, he is the Chancellor; but he has visitatorial functions and rights except in Benares and Aligarh where the Governor of the United Provinces has the style and powers of the Visitor. The Governor-General exercises varying powers of control in different universities.

In nearly every university except Benares, Aligarh and Osmania, the Governor of the Province is the Chancellor and as such appoints the Vice-Chancellor after considering the recommendations of one or other of the university bodies. In Patna, the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor is made by the Local Government.

The supreme governing body of a university is sometimes called the Senate, sometimes the Court. In the Allahabad and Lucknow Universities it is called the Court. Except in the Calcutta and the Punjab

Universities the Courts are composed of elected members who form the majority and a few ex-officio and nominated members. In addition to the Senate or the Court there is always an Executive Council which is generally a committee partly elected by the former and partly consisting of ex-officio and nominated members. These Executive Councils are, in some universities, termed Syndicates.

Generally, the universities are autonomous bodies aided by government but not directly controlled by it. Indirect but very effective control is, however, exercised through grants-in-aid, especially where they are calculated annually and on no fixed basis. Government aid usually is given either in the form of a block grant fixed by statute or Government order for a term of years or by annual subventions which may be earmarked or not. In affiliating universities the affiliated colleges are aided by the government directly.

There are a number of faculties in each university such as Arts, Science, Law, Medicine, Engineering, Education, Commerce and Agriculture. The Lucknow University, for instance, has all these faculties except Engineering and Agriculture.

There are at present 18 universities in India with 231 Art colleges for men and 24 for women, 60 professional colleges for men and 9 for women, the total number of scholars being 84967 males and 8676 females, (1941-42).

Secondary education means the education of boys

Secondary Education. and girls above the primary standard and before entrance into a university. It comprises of Middle Schools, High Schools and Intermediate Colleges. The system with regard to studies, standard and length of course in years slightly varies in various provinces. The length of the course in years for the Middle stage is from 2 to 4 years. In the U. P., it is 4 years. The High School stage course similarly varies from two to three years. In U. P. it is 2 years. In some provinces, as in U. P., Intermediate course is regarded as the final stage of secondary education. In others, it is a part of the university education.

The method of control of secondary education also varies from province to province. In some provinces, this control is exercised by or through the government, in others by universities and in still others, as in U. P., there are special Boards. In the U. P., the Director of Public Instruction recognises secondary schools for purposes of grants-in-aid and subsidy but the final school examination is conducted by the Board of High School and Intermediate Examinations which recognises institutions for the purpose of its examinations and prescribes courses of study. Its regulations are subject to the approval of the Education Minister. The Board is a body of 38 members partly elected and partly nominated, representing different interests but largely composed of educationists. The Aligarh and Benares Universities while recognising the examinations of the Board conduct their own Matriculation or

Admission and Intermediate examinations, subject to certain conditions.

The U. P. Government maintains government high schools and intermediate colleges at important centres. They were originally intended to serve as models for other schools and colleges but now they generally cater for government servants. The entire expenditure of these schools and colleges is borne by the Government. But the majority of high schools and intermediate colleges are private, the Government only contributes about half of their expenditure.

The control of primary education in all the provinces except Madras is divided between the Government and local bodies. In the United Provinces, the Education Committees of municipal and district boards are responsible for the maintenance, recognition and aid of all primary schools within their respective areas. The inspecting staff of the Education Department inspects all primary schools but the subordinate inspecting officers of the department are subject to the general control of the chairmen of the Education Committees.

All the provinces in India have, by legislation, now indicated their acceptance of the principle of compulsion in primary education. The provincial enactments have varied in their scope and character. The principle was, in many of the provinces, first applied to municipal and urban areas and then extended to rural areas. The progress of compulsion, therefore, is

even to-day confined mostly to urban areas. In U. P. about 30 municipalities have introduced this principle in certain areas within their respective jurisdictions. In the Punjab, primary education has been made compulsory in 1500 rural and 57 urban areas. In the C. P. the figures are 66 and 30 respectively.

The majority of the legislative enactments in the provinces have left the adoption of compulsion to local option. In the Bombay presidency alone power has been given to Government to enforce the adoption of compulsion by local boards. In some other provinces Governments are thinking of adopting this policy in cases in which they consider that the time is ripe for compulsion and in which the local boards have themselves failed to initiate a scheme, because it is believed that local option results in almost complete inaction on the part of local bodies for a considerable period of time. The Hartog Committee were of opinion that the responsibility for mass education rests primarily with the State and it is therefore the duty of the State to provide educational facilities for all classes of the community and for all areas. The Committee opined that "accompanied by necessary safeguards, the power to enforce compulsion should provide local governments with the very necessary authority to supervise the expansion of mass education in the provinces in such a way that all areas and classes of the community may benefit by the increased expenditure of public funds."

There may be difference of opinion as regards the utility of communal or sectarian educational institutions but it is a fact that such institutions are in existence and are still supported by large sections of the population. There are separate educational institutions from primary to higher stages all over the country for Mohammedans for whom special facilities are provided. For instance, special assistance is given to Mohammedan pupils by way of stipends, scholarships, fee remission and reservation of seats in professional colleges. With regard to the education of the depressed classes there are two schools of thought viz. (1) the system of segregate schools and of providing separate supervising staff for these schools be continued; and (2) that the children of depressed classes be admitted in the ordinary schools on equal terms. The Hartog Committee were "strongly of opinion that the policy of the mixed schools is the right one." The Committee appointed to enquire into and report on the state of primary education of the educationally backward communities in the United Provinces advocated the same policy. In the United Provinces, the large increase in the enrolment of depressed class pupils in the ordinary schools is a very hopeful sign. To-day more than 80 per cent. of the total number of depressed class pupils attend mixed schools. This indicates that caste prejudices are dying down and that the higher castes make no objection to the admission of these boys to the ordinary schools. There are separate

institutions for the children of the Anglo-Indian community also. But in spite of these separatist tendencies the number of students of every community is much larger in common institutions than in communal ones.

The importance of female education in India, as elsewhere, cannot be exaggerated. yet it is extremely limited in its extent in this country. The conservative attitude of the parents, the *pardah* system in Northern and North Eastern India, and early marriages have all hindered the growth of female education. Every province has its own difficulties. In the United Provinces which have the lowest percentage of girls under instruction the tenacity of orthodox views, the condition of public finances, the limited margin for further taxation and numerous social and economic obstacles hardly justify the hope that the break down of female illiteracy will be a rapid process.

In all the provinces girls' education is under the administrative control of the Director of Public Instruction. In some provinces, there is a Deputy Directress or Chief Inspectress whose responsibilities are confined solely to girls' education. In the U P. there is a Chief Inspectress of girls' education who, in addition to her inspection work, advises the Director of Public Instruction on matters concerning women's education.

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919 made education a purely provincial concern and since then provincial revenue

Female Education.

Financing of Education.

bear the entire cost of education. The amount spent on education by various provinces varies from 10 per cent of the total revenue in Assam to 17.2 per cent in U.P. (1927 figures). Although the percentage is highest in U P it should not be understood that the U. P. government spends the largest amount on education. Madras spent 202 lakhs in 1927 while the total expenditure in U P was 196 lakhs. Again, government expenditure on education per head varied in 1927 from '21 in Behar and Orissa to 1'02 in Bombay; the corresponding figure for U P being 43

Besides government grants, there are other sources of income such as local funds, income from fees and the like. In the United Provinces, the percentage of government funds is 57. 99, local funds 13. 17, fees 13. 79, other sources 15. 08, the total expenditure being 338 lakhs.

In the matter of financing the mass education and compulsion, special provisions have been made in the various provinces. In the United Provinces, the Primary Education Act of 1919 makes provision for the imposition of an education cess by any municipality in which primary education is declared to be compulsory. A municipality may, for the purpose of education cess, select any of the taxes which it is authorised to impose or may increase any tax already levied. No fees are to be charged in municipal schools in compulsory areas. Government has undertaken to contribute two-thirds of the additional cost involved, including

loss due to remission of fees and other similar costs. The total government contribution, however, may not exceed 60 per cent of the total cost of primary education in a municipality.

The District Boards Primary Education Act of 1926, however, does not give District Boards the power to levy a special education cess. But Government bear two-thirds of the extra recurring cost of compulsory schemes. No fees are realised from scholars compelled to attend schools. Government give a lump general grant to each Board prescribing a minimum amount which must be provided for middle vernacular schools, ordinary primary schools, Islamic schools and *makhtabs*, schools for the depressed classes and for girls.

The Minister of Education in each province is responsible for controlling the educational policy and directing its execution. In most of the provinces, the Minister has a Secretary who is, as a rule, a member of the Indian Civil Service. In some provinces, as in the Central Provinces, the Director of Public Instruction himself is the Secretary. In the United Provinces, there is an Education Secretary and a Deputy Secretary. The permanent administrative head of the Education Department is the Director of Public Instruction. He is responsible for the administration of education in the province. He is chosen from the Indian Educational Service. Under the Director of Public Instruction there is, in each province, an inspecting agency consisting of men and women. The

Inspectors have, under them, Assistant Inspectors in each division and Deputy Inspectors in each District and Sub-Deputy Inspectors in each Tehsil. In several provinces there are special inspecting officers also such as Inspectors for European Schools, of Vernacular Education, of Training Schools, for Mohammedan Education, for Sanskrit Patshalas etc. etc.

Results.

Having given a brief history of the educational policy and methods during the British period and a sketch of the present educational system let us see what have been the results. India on account of this western education is now in touch with the whole world of western culture, business and commerce, letters, science and arts and avails herself of the benefits this contact offers. The demand for the western type of democratic government may also be due partly or wholly to this western education. This is the credit side.

There is a debit side also. The use of the English language as the medium of instruction has led to the deplorable neglect of the mother tongue so much so that the average educated Indian of today takes pride in speaking and writing in the language of his foreign rulers, discarding his own mother tongue as unbetween worthy of him. This has resulted in a wide between gulf the educated few and the uneducated masses.

This education has failed to relate the activities of its products sufficiently closely to the practical needs of the nation as a whole. Its nature being purely

academic and secular with no moral or ethical aim behind it, it has failed to make the people politically, economically and morally advanced. It has no doubt supplied an army of clerks for government service but it has failed to produce any large number of statesmen, and original thinkers. There has been no attempt to develop the character and to provide healthy channels for the free play of youthful enthusiasm and energy. The system has been one of schools, colleges and examinations which put a premium on book learning of a narrow kind at the expense of original thinking for real scholarship. Factory spirit has tainted schools and colleges where young men are treated like raw material to be shaped into finished goods to suit the requirements of the greatest customer, the Government. The output having exceeded the demand, unemployment among the educated classes is the result. Mass education has been wholly ignored with the result that illiteracy is prevailing today which hinders development of civic character.

Technical and vocational education has been altogether neglected which has not only added to the number of the unemployed but is a positive hinderance to economic development of the country. In spite of the richness of her raw materials India has to depend on foreign countries for many things, large and small, which drains away the wealth of the country.

These and other defects of the educational policy of the bureaucratic Governments in India were realised

by the Congress Governments in several provinces during their short regime of 23 months. They formulated some original plans for overhauling the entire system. A new system of basic education known as the Wardha Plan was evolved. But the regime was cut short too soon and the plan could not be developed.

More recently, the Central Advisory Board of Education in India has devoted their attention to surveying the main fields of educational activity. They set up several Committees to study and report on various aspects of Indian education. The Chairman of the Board is the honourable Sardar Sir Jogendra Singh, Education Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, but the moving spirit is Mr. John Sargeant, Educational Adviser to the Government of India. This Board has recently (1944) submitted a report to the Government containing proposals for the post-war educational development in India. The authors of this Report seem to be quite alive to all the defects of the present system of education mentioned above and have made recommendations which may go a long way to remedy those defects. They have laid emphasis on a system of universal and free education of all boys and estimated that it can be completed in not less than forty years. With regard to stages and character of education they recommend the opening of nursery schools for classes to be staffed by women. This pre-primary education should be free if not compulsory. The next stage will be the basic primary and middle

schools which should be run on the lines of the original Wardha scheme with certain variations in some details. - The education imparted in the basic middle schools should be complete in itself, that is, on leaving it the pupil should be prepared to take his place in the community as a worker and as a future citizen. The next stage is to be a high school, to cover a course of six years. Only those pupils should be admitted to high schools who show promise of taking full advantage of the education provided. That high schools should be of two main types, academic and technical. The objective of both should be to provide a good all round education combined with such preparation in the later stages for the careers which pupils will choose to adopt on leaving schools. The curriculum in all cases should be so varied as circumstances permit and should not be unduly restricted by the requirements of universities or examining bodies. The next higher stage will be the University. The present Intermediate course should be abolished, the first year to be transferred to High School and the second to University.

The minimum length of a University Degree course should thus be three years. The tutorial system should be widely extended and closer personal contacts established between teachers and students. The importance of establishing a high standard in post graduate studies and particularly in pure and applied research is emphasized.

With regard to technical, commercial and art education the Board recommends an efficient system of technical education at all stages on the basis of the recommendations of the Abbot-Wood Report. It recommends comprehensive arrangements for adult education in view of the very high percentage of illiteracy. New training schools and colleges must be provided to supply additional teachers that will be needed. It also emphasizes insuring of the physical welfare of all pupils and students. It recommends provision of education by the State for the mentally and physically handicapped children. It further recommends provision of recreation and social activities on an adequate scale. It makes many other recommendations which we need not mention here.

The recommendations of the Board are good so far as they go, but it is feared that they do not go far enough. It will be the business of the National Government whenever it is formed to go into this scheme, to adopt what is good in it and reject the rest. The National Government will have to plan out other aspects of education and introduce them.

(b) Literature.

Just as a man's character can be judged by the company he keeps, it can be judged by the library he possesses or the books and other literature which he likes to read. Letting alone the English-educated Indians who know more of Milton, Aristotle and Schopenhauer than of Kalidas, Kautilya and Kapila the

influence of our national literature on the character of the masses is immense. The story of Raja Harishchandra the Truthful, or of Prahlad the Satvagrahi sends even today a thrill in a Hindu audience. Tulsi-das and Surdas have by their writings influenced the character of the Hindus in a way as no other literature has done. Wherever you go, you will find the Hindu contented with his lot. Asked the reason he will promptly quote Tulsi-das:

Har, libh, jivan, maran, yash, apyash Bidhi Aish.

The Hindu woman considers Sita to be her ideal and adjusts her behaviour in accordance with that ideal. Hindus are supposed to be more spiritual and philosophical than materialistic, this is the result of the vastness of philosophical teachings their literature contains.

That Musalmans are religious-minded, intolerant of opponents' views, democratic in public and romantic in private life is the result of the literature they read. The same is the case with other sections of the people. We shall briefly discuss in this section the literature of India.

The history of Indian literature goes back to the period of the beginning of Aryan occupation of India. Indeed some epigraphists discover in certain carvings in the recently discovered ancient cities of Mohenjodaro and Harappa a kind of script; if correct, this would take back the beginnings of Indian literature to pre-Aryan days. But for all practical purposes, Indian literature begins with Rigveda, a collection of the most

ancient religious hymns of the Aryans. It is doubtful if the Aryans knew the art of writing when these hymns were composed. Nevertheless, these hymns disclose a high literary skill, considering their antiquity. Somewhat later are the other three Vedas. The composition of hymns was followed by philosophical speculation, and the spread of the art of writing made it possible for the Aryan seers to embody this speculation in the abstruse treatises called Brahmanas and Upanishads. By 800 B. C., the ancient Aryan language of the Vedas became refined and was given the name of Sanskrit. Elaborate rules of grammar were made, the prince of grammarians being Panini. The first poem in this language was the famous epic, *Ramayana*, composed by the poet Valmiki. The ancient historical legends and mythology handed down by bards were also written down in the shape of the Puranas and Mahabharat. Additions and embellishments in these works continued to be made till long afterwards and the number of Puranas increased till they were recognized to be eighteen. Great philosophers like Kapila founded famous schools of philosophy which were finally recognized to be six. The progress in the domain of drama was no less remarkable, for the most shining star in Indian literature, Kalidas, was a great dramatist as well as a great poet. The sciences of mathematics and astronomy were also cultivated and attracted the attention of eminent scientists like Bhaskara, Aryabhatta and Varahamihir.

Side by side with Sanskrit, the spoken dialects of the people were also developing, though for a long time, Sanskrit kept them out of the literary field. The two protestant religions, Jainism and Buddhism, gave a great impetus to spoken dialects. Buddhists adopted Pali, the spoken dialect of Nepal and certain portions of what is now U. P., as the language of their sacred writings, with the result that Pali developed considerable literature, and received the attention of learned men. Asoka used Prakrit for inscribing his edicts. The Jains used Prakrit in their sacred as well as secular writings. The poet Rajasekhara was of the opinion that Prakrit poetry was sweeter than Sanskrit and himself wrote beautiful works in Prakrit.

The Prakrits were the fore-runners of the modern Aryan languages of India. From the Sauraseni Prakrit developed the Hindi language, from Maharashtra, the Marathi and the like. By the time of the Muhammadan invasion, the vernaculars had practically ousted Sanskrit. The father of Hindi poetry was Chand Bardai, the court poet of Prithviraja, the last Rajput ruler of Delhi. Hindi, being the most widely spoken language of India, grew in importance and as it was current in districts which fell under lasting Muslim control, it began to be used by Muslims also, among whom Jayasi, Khusro, Raskhan, Rahim and Nazir were great Hindi poets. As the Muslim immigrants introduced more and more foreign words in their Hindi their language began to deviate from Sanskritised

Hindi and finally was given the name of Urdu which is written in Arabic characters. Urdu produced great poets like Mir, Zauq, Sauda, Atish, Ghalib and others. Hindi proper, however, continued to progress and the greatest poets in it were Tulsidas and Surdas; the former immortalised his name by writing the *Ramayana*.

Other provincial languages also developed side by side and produced great writers. Bengali produced Krittibasa who wrote a Bengali version of the *Ramayana*. The great saints Tukaram and Ramdas enriched Marathi and Narsi wrote religious lyrics in Gujrati.

In Southern India, languages belonging to the Dravidian family, quite distinct from those of Sanskrit origin and the Aryan languages, developed along their own lines, though greatly enriched by Sanskrit vocabulary and Aryan ideas. The most important of these languages are Tamil, Telegu, Malayalam and Kanarese. Tamil is a specially sweet language and contains much beautiful poetry, it has a very large percentage of Sanskrit words.

The nineteenth and the present centuries witnessed a remarkable growth of Indian literature due to greater contact with the outside world and national awakening. The Bengali language, notably, has produced great literary figures like Madhusudan, Bankim and above all, Ravindra Babu, whose works in their English renderings are greatly admired in foreign countries. Hindi is also developing fast and has

been generally acclaimed as the most suitable language to become the *lingua franca* of India. The tendency is to minimise its difference with Urdu so that ultimately the two may become one language as originally they were. The development of languages along communal lines is harmful and patriotic Indians are trying to evolve one common language. The most redeeming feature in this direction is the increased use of commonly understood words in preference to Sanskrit and Arabic. Yet this is not all. Both Hindi and Urdu poetries of this century are becoming more and more patriotic as well as modernised. Hindi poetry no longer dabbles in *Nayika-bheda* nor Urdu poetry in *May and Saqi*. The sponsors of the new era are poets like Iqbal and Chukbast in Urdu and Maithilisharan in Hindi. In other branches of literature much progress has been made. Munshi Premchand has enriched fiction in both Hindi and Urdu. Institutions like the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan and the Osmania University are giving an added impetus to the growth of Hindustani literature. We have also to mention the Hindustani Academy of Allahabad which has brought out a few books, in Urdu and Hindi, using the Hindustani language, viz., a language, neither Sanskritised nor Persianised.

To develop the feeling of nationality in India it seems to be essential that our young men take more and more to their own vernaculars and raise them to a much higher level than they occupy to-day.

(c) Art.

The development of art has got much to do with the development of civilization. We can judge the civilization of a country from its art as from its literature. The ancient Greeks produced great works of art as well as beautiful pieces of literature and philosophy. Indians were also skilled in various arts since very ancient times. According to Megasthenes they were "well-skilled in the arts as might be expected of men who inhale a pure air and drink the very finest water" Indians divided fine art into 64 categories, which they called *Kalas*. These included painting, sculpture, architecture, music and the like. In all these arts Indians attained remarkable success. In some of these they have not been equalled much less excelled so far.

India, though it did not neglect the representation of secular ideas in art, mainly utilized art for expressing its deep rooted spiritual ideas. Thus, even in paintings which represent various love scenes, we find that the loves are seldom human or historical figures, but Krishna and Radha representing God and the devotee. Even the mediaeval Muslim art is mostly religious in outlook. It will be advantageous to deal with the development of the chief arts separately.

Painting has always held a high place among fine arts. We learn from Buddhist writings that fresco painting was well known even in early Buddhist period. The following passage

of Prof. Rhys Davids about painters in Buddhist India may be quoted in this connection. "They were mostly house painters. The woodwork of the houses was often covered with fine chunam plaster and decorated with painting. But they also painted frescoes. These passages tell us of pleasure houses adorned with painted figures and patterns, belonging to the kings of Magadha and Kosala, and such frescoes were no doubt similar in character to, but of course in an earlier style than, the well-known ancient frescoes of the seventh and eight centuries A. D. on the Ajanta Caves, and of the fifth century on the Sigiri Rock in Ceylon." The Buddhist works of painting rank among the finest in the world. The religious fervour of Buddhism gave an impetus to the art which spread in *Ceylon, China, Java, Siam and other parts of Asia*. Its best examples may be seen in Ajanta Caves in the Hyderabad state. The paintings are now disappearing but enough copies have been taken.

In mediaeval times two schools of painting achieved celebrity. The Rajput school, which inherited old Hindu traditions, developed to a great extent. The painters of this school painted various things—palace scenes, love scenes, gods and the like. It thus represented both religious and secular ideas.

The other school which developed in the mediaeval period was the Mughal school. It was initiated by Persian painters and followed their technique and models, but it was influenced by the Rajput school and

became essentially Indian. Courts, hunts, games and pageants were the favourite subjects of this school.

In modern times new schools have arisen; the British influence is traceable in them. But many artists are following the old school though incorporating modern ideas. Avanindra, Nand Lal Bose and others have in recent years produced good works of painting and the future may bring still better productions.

The art of sculpture seems to have developed from the early Buddhist period. The Indian sculpture. Jains and Buddhists wanted images of their prophets and so the art of sculpture gained an impetus. No doubt, statues discovered at Parkham and near Patna which are supposed to represent certain kings of the early Buddhist period show that the art was applied to secular purposes also. But most of the early statues are those of Buddha or Avalokitesvara, or Mahavira or Parsva. The Bhagavatas followed the Buddhists and Jains and made images of Vasudeva Krishna.

One of the best known of the Buddhist schools of sculpture was the Gandhara school. Five images of Buddha depicting his life-scenes have been discovered in Gandhara. Specialists think that Greek influence is traceable in them. Nevertheless the art was Indian in character and ideas. In other parts of India also images were made depicting Buddha, Mahavira, Vasudeva or some deity.

Architecture has been considered the queen of

Indian Archi-
tecture.

arts and a survey of it is indispensable. In ancient India, according to Megasthenes, buildings were usually made of the perishable wood. But descriptions of royal palaces in ancient literature show that our forefathers had attained a high degree of proficiency in architecture. The palace, for instance, of the Pandavas was such a perfect piece of art that Duryodhan mistook the highly polished floor for a lake. The Laksha Griha—house built of lac—for destroying the Pandavas, was unique in idea and execution. The Vastu Sastra, dealing with architecture contains elaborate directions which, even to this day, evoke the admiration of engineers and architects. Maya was a well-known architect of ancient India. Little, however, has survived of architecture before the time of Asoka. Asoka was a great builder and his monuments are good examples of Indo-Aryan architecture. The palace of Asoka was still standing in the time of Fahien who regarded it as having been built by genius. The next period of the development of this art was the Gupta period when various styles and ornamentations in temples and other structures developed. The mediaeval Rajput rulers also produced fine examples of architecture.

The southern Indian style of architecture is Dravidian. It is noted for its grandeur, as seen in the temples of Tanjore, Madura and Conjeeveram. The rock-cut Kailasa temple at Ellore is a unique work.

The Musalmans brought their own conception of

architecture with them and influenced and were themselves influenced by the indigenous. The result was the Indo-Saracenic architecture which produced some of the finest examples of architecture like the Tajmahal, the Juma Masjid and others. Today, the art of architecture is in the hands of foreigners and is influenced by western models and technique. The influence is traceable in the buildings of Raisina, designed by Sir Edward Lutyens. Griffin introduced another exotic style, visible in some recent buildings in Lucknow. The Indian spirit is now asserting itself and a school of Indian architecture is now rising like a Sphinx.

Lastly we may notice music. This art was by no means less developed than any other. In fact, the art of music is one of the most ancient in India and goes back to Vedic times. Hymns of the Sam Veda were already put to music in Vedic times and they were the origin of the *Sangita Kala*, which was regarded as divine. This *kala* included *git* or vocal music, *vadya* or instrumental music and *nritya* or dancing.

In the field of vocal music great progress was made. Six *Ragas* and thirty-six *Raginis* were developed and the appropriate time and effect of their singing was found out.

In *vadya* or instrumental music we find similar early beginnings. Many instruments like the *vana* and the *vina* are mentioned even in the Rigveda. Later works mention various other instruments and their technique.

Nritya was considered a part of *sangita*. Like other branches it was applied to religious purposes a great deal. The *Tandava* dance of Shiva is a famous classical dance. There were other types of dances.

The Musalmans' after entering India learnt the Indian music and developed it to a great extent. The most famous Indian musician, Tansen, lived at the court of Akbar. The best traditions of Indian music have been largely carried on by Musalmans.

This art was some time ago threatening to pass into the hands of courtesans. But thanks to the efforts of patriotic Indians, both Hindus and Musalmans, it is again receiving the attention of respectable men and women and its future appears to be glorious. The perfect classification of music and elaborate combinations and permutations of sound in Indian music have not so far been reached by any other people.

CHAPTER IX

INDIAN STATES

(The political map of India is usually painted in two colours, red and yellow.) The former signifies the territory which is directly administered by the British Government in India and is known as British India and the latter is made up of territories euphemistically described as Indian States and administered by Indian princes who are semi-independent rulers. There are 562 States, with an area of 5,98,133 sq. miles and a population of 93,189,233 (1941).

These States and their rulers vary enormously in character. While some of them comprise only a few acres of land, their rulers enjoying only some nominal jurisdiction as in Kathiawar, others are quite large enough to be called kingdoms. The State of Hyderabad, for instance, extends to an area as vast as the United Kingdom, with a population of over 14 millions and an annual revenue exceeding 6 crores of rupees. They vary as much in their methods of administration as in other characteristics as we shall see presently.

Some of these States pay tributes to the Crown, the amount, which varies from State to State in accordance

with the circumstances of which it is the outcome, goes to the revenues of British India. It is, in some cases, the return for the territory exchanged or restored but in the majority of cases it is in lieu of former obligations to supply or maintain troops. In some instances, smaller States pay tributes to larger ones. Some States have the right to impose, within their borders, duties on imports and exports which right is a remnant of their former independent character. A few States mint their own rupee currency, others have mints for copper coinage or for striking silver and gold coins for special ceremonial occasions. But in the majority of them British Indian currency is used.

The British Telegraph system extends to the Indian States but in the case of postal arrangements while a large majority have no separate post offices, some of them still maintain postal departments of their own. Most of those who have accepted the services of the British post and surrendered their own rights receive from the British Government an yearly contribution in the shape of postage stamps of certain amounts bearing on them the impress of H. M. S.

Almost every Indian State has to maintain a body of efficient forces (Indian State Forces) for cooperation with the British Indian Army both in the external defence of India and in the maintenance of internal peace and order. These troops are periodically inspected by the officers of the British Indian Army, the inspecting staff being paid by the Government of India.

The Government of India reserves to itself the right to require that European British subjects are not tried in State courts but are either tried by British courts established in the Residency areas in the States or are sent for trial in British India. There are treaties with every State with regard to extradition of criminals. Criminals from British India escaping to an Indian State must be handed over to the British police; they cannot be arrested by the British Indian Police without the permission of the State authorities.

The British Indian Government maintains cantonments in several States such as Mysore and Hyderabad. Within the areas of these cantonments and railways not owned by the State all jurisdiction is exercised by the British authorities.

The States have no individual existence for international purposes beyond the fact that in the assemblage of the League of Nations of which India is an original member, the Indian delegation nominated by the British Government invariably includes a representative of Indian States. Otherwise the territory of the Indian States is in the same position as the territory of British India and the subjects of Indian States in the same position as British Indian subjects. An Indian State cannot hold diplomatic or other official intercourse with any foreign powers or any other Indian State.

It has been said above that in their methods of
 Internal Admin- administration Indian States vary as
 nistration. much as they do in their areas or

populations. Unlike British India they have various forms of administration within them with one common characteristic, viz. they have all the monarchical system of Government, the monarch or the ruler having full powers, executive, legislative judicial and financial. In case of some lesser chiefs, certain orders may be liable to the final approval of the British Crown or its Agent in India. A few States have some sort of legislative councils nominated or elected partly or wholly with varying powers of interference in the actual administration of the state. Mostly these councils are of a consultative or advisory nature, that is to say, their recommendations are not binding on the rulers. Some of these States have their judiciary on the British Indian model, some follow British Indian laws with or without necessary local modifications. But a vast majority of the rulers are despots. They follow no established laws or they make their own laws and unmake them at their sweet will. But a gradual change is coming over the administrative methods in the States; vast influences are at work, the most important being the growth of responsible government in British India and the constant contact between the peoples of the two Indias which are leading the princes, at any rate the more intelligent among them, to introduce in their own territories, some system of responsible government. A gradual progressive association of the people with the government will in course of time lead to modernisation of laws and of the machinery of administering

these laws, to readjustment of taxes, separation of the Privy Purse and Civil List of the ruler from the expenditure of the State. The rights and civil liberties of the people will have to be defined more precisely. Some of the far-sighted rulers have realised the shape of things to come and are already taking steps in that direction, the Maharajas of Baroda, Mysore and Travancore being the foremost among them.

The circumstances and conditions under which these Indian States came into existence are diverse. During the Muslim period of Indian history some of them were independent territories, the rulers not acknowledging the suzerainty of the paramount power. There were others which, while owing allegiance to the Emperor at Delhi, maintained their individual integrity. During the disruptive period of the Mughal Empire not only the then existing States maintained their independence but still others came into existence, specially those of the Marhatta origin. The British, when they acquired foothold in India had to acknowledge the existence of these States as they were. For facilities of administration as well as for its commercial and political expansion, the East India Company had to conclude treaties with these States. These treaties were first made on terms of equality. For instance, the treaty between the E.I. Company and the Nawab of Carnatak (1792) was a treaty between two independent States. Gradually, however, as the British power grew, the

Relations between Indian States and the British Crown

treaties assumed a different character. Those with Mysore (1799), Nagpur (1816) and Bikaner, Jodhpur and Udaipur (1818) implied protection by the British Government and subordinate co operation by the States. The British Government, however, as its power increased, began to interfere in the administration of these States beyond the terms of treaties when, in its opinion, such interference was necessary in the interest of good government or peace of the country or of the State. For instance, in 1820, the British Government appointed, against the unambiguous terms of the Treaty of 1890, British officers to supervise district administration of Hyderabad with the object of protecting the cultivating classes

The East India Company had also recourse to conquest and annexation of Indian States. "In the first half of the 19th century they extended their dominion from Cape Comorin to Himalayas, sometimes by sheer force, sometimes by adroit use of theories and usages. They affirmed, for instance, the doctrine that a State lapsed when the last chief was childless and had made no valid adoption".* Despite the ostensible repudiation by the British Parliament of the policy of annexation the East India Company went on annexing State after State on one pretext or another and Mysore, Oudh and several other independent States changed colour from yellow to red on the Indian map.

The Indian Mutiny of 1857 and subsequent transfer

* Chailley-Administrative Problems of British India

of the government from the East India Company to the British Crown brought about a change in the policy of annexation. Queen Victoria proclaimed in 1858: "We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions ; while we will permit no aggression on our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall allow no encroachment on those of others. We shall respect the rights, dignity and honour of the native *princes as our own and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and social advancement which can only secure internal peace and good government.*" This Proclamation and a series of sanads, engagements and charters issued to individual chiefs and the treaties entered into between the Crown and the Indian States are regarded as the Magna Charta of the Indian Princes. Since the issue of this Proclamation there has been no encroachment on the area under Indian rulers by the British Government of India. As a matter of fact, there has been a departure in the opposite direction. In 1881, the State of Mysore was returned to its old ruling family and, in 1911, the Maharaja of Benares who was then only a big zemindar was vested with ruling powers over his territories. But when the country settled down, difficulties with regard to administrative affairs both in British India and Indian States again appeared. The Crown claimed greater paramountcy than had been exercised by the East India Company or that was provided for in the treaties or sanads. For

instance, the British Government insisted on its approval in case of succession or on its decisions as final in cases of disputes or on its approval of the appointment of a regent in case of the ruler being a minor. In 1873, complaints were made against the rule of H. H. the Gaekwar of Baroda and the Crown appointed a Commission of enquiry notwithstanding the protests of the ruler that such a step was against all treaties. Recently, the rulers of Nabha, Indore and Alwar were subjected to similar treatment. Thus a series of usages and practices grew in accordance with which the British Government could impress its paramountcy on the rulers of Indian States. Generally, the chiefs are required not only to be loyal to the British Crown but to render active assistance to it in its imperial engagements. On its part, the Crown guarantees the maintenance of the territorial integrity of the States, undertakes their defence in case of external dangers and internal disturbances and insures the maintenance of the dynasty and the continuation of the rights, privileges and *izzat* of the rulers. It generally interferes in cases of gross misgovernment or during the minority of a ruler when it assumes the reins of government itself.

Thus, whereas in domestic matters, the Indian princes enjoy a degree of autonomy except for the restrictions mentioned above and so long as they behave loyally in matters of Imperial interests, the paramountcy is growing more and more pronounced. As late as 1926, Lord Reading gave a new orientation to this policy in

the following words which he addressed to H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad :

"The sovereignty of the British Crown is supreme in India and therefore no ruler of an Indian State can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Government on an equal footing. Its supremacy is not based only upon treaties and engagements but exists independently of them and quite apart from its prerogative in matters relating to foregoing powers and policies. It is the right and the duty of the British Government while scrupulously respecting all treaties and engagements with the Indian States; to preserve peace and general order throughout India." Thus the paramountcy of the British Crown is now complete as the Crown can take whatever measures it deems fit for the safety of the British Empire, the interests of India as a whole and the interests of the States.

That the States have accepted this paramountcy is obvious. The political history of India during the last 20 years establishes this fact conclusively. When the reforms embodied in the Government of India Act, 1935, were on the anvil and the proposal that the Government of India be made responsible to the Indian legislatures the ruling chiefs, although expressing their willingness to join the Federation, felt apprehensive that their destinies were to be placed in the hands of Indian Government responsible to the Indian legislature. They recorded a "strong protest that in view of the historical nature of the relationship between

the paramount power and the princes, the latter should not be transferred without their own agreement to relationship with a new government in British India responsible to an Indian legislature." This feeling of the Indian princes was carefully borne in mind when the details of a federal government for India were hammered out. As the Crown is the paramount power and as in a federal constitution for India the States were to surrender certain privileges which they had enjoyed so far it was left to their discretion to join or not to join the Federation. The Act only laid down the procedure whereby a State might accede and set out the constitutional consequences of accession. The British Government had seen to it that even after the establishment of the Indian Federation the paramountcy of the British Crown on the Indian States remained unaffected. Section 285 is explicit:—

"285. Subject, in the case of a Federated State, to the provisions of the Instrument of Accession of that State, nothing in this Act affects the rights and obligations of the Crown in relation to any Indian State."

The statement of the British Premier on March 11, 1942, had the following significant words in it: "This (offer of Dominion Status) was of course subject to the fulfilment of our obligations for the protection of minorities including the depressed classes and of our treaty obligations to the Indian States....." and as Mr. Panikkar observes "it is therefore claimed that so long as these obligations continue, the Crown cannot

divest itself of the powers which it possesses over the States which must per force remain undefined." The Butler Committee's phrase 'usage lights up the dark corners of treaties' is indicative of the same sense.

Moving the second reading of the Bill on the Attachment of States, in the House of Lords, Lord Munster, Under-Secretary of State for India used (March 1944) the following words: "the Bill was intended to place beyond all manner of doubt the right of the Viceroy to provide for the most suitable administration of a large number of small and very small States or really Estates." In other words, this right of the Crown representative is now complete to limit and delimit the administrative jurisdiction for States, of course, "small and very small" to begin with.

The Government of India maintains a Political Department for dealing with the affairs of Indian States in relation to itself and other States. The Viceroy himself is in charge of this department and is assisted by a Political Secretary. Most of the more important States are now in direct political relations with the Central Government, only a few small States still being connected with provincial governments. All British control over the affairs of Indian States is exercised through political officers who, as a rule, reside in the States and who are almost invariably British officers selected from the Indian Civil Service or the Indian Army. In the larger States, British

Government of
India, Political
Department.

Government is represented by a Resident, in groups of States by an Agent to the Governor-General. These Agencies are Rajputana, Central India, Punjab States, Western India States, Madras States and Baluchistan. These officers form the sole channel of communication between the Indian States and the Government of India and its Foreign Department, with the officials of British India and with other Indian States. They are expected to advise and assist the ruling chiefs in administrative and other political affairs.

There is the other side of the picture. Some of the more enlightened Princes regarded this interference by the British Crown in their affairs as not only galling to their sense of self-respect but actually as an hinderance in the smooth working of their administrative machinery. Some of the more patriotic of them even considered this claim of paramountcy as a check on the growing Indian nationalism to which they were contributing their quota. Some of them even questioned the legitimacy of this claim of the Crown. The matter was informally discussed among some rulers when they met in conferences held by Lords Hardinge and Chelmsford and ultimately a committee was appointed in 1917 for the codification of political practice. After the War, the Conference of Princes was converted by a Royal Proclamation into a permanent body which is now known as the Chamber of Princes and the work of codification of political practices was taken over

Chamber of
Princes.

by the Standing Committee of Princes elected by the Chamber. This Chamber serves as the meeting ground of the Princes or their representatives for counsel and consultation among themselves in matters of common concern to India as a whole. The Chamber has been through many vicissitudes arising out of conflict of interests between larger and smaller states. It has recently been reorganised with a Standing Committee of 35 Princes in which permanent and semi-permanent seats have been allotted to the 18 major States and the rest of the seats thrown open to election by regional groups. A Standing Committee of Ministers to which the more technical work is entrusted has also been constituted on a similar basis. The Viceroy is the President of the Chamber and a Pro-Chancellor is elected from the members annually. The functions of the Standing Committee are to advise the Viceroy on questions referred to the Committee by him and "to propose for his consideration other questions affecting Indian States generally or which are of concern either to the States as a whole or to British India and the States in common."

The Chamber of Princes is a deliberative, consultative and advisory body. It meets annually in its own Hall of Debate at New Delhi. It does not and cannot discuss the internal affairs of individual States nor their rights, privileges, dignities, powers and prerogatives nor can it prejudice in any way the relations of any individual State with the Viceroy or Governor-

General. The Chamber enables free interchange of views to take place on weighty matters concerning the relationship of the States with the Crown and concerning other points of contact with British India

The Indian States, as has been stated, number as many as 562, most of them very small in size and very poor in income. Even of the 135 states in the Chamber of Princes there are 50 whose annual income does not exceed Rs 7 Lakhs. It is obvious that these states by themselves cannot run a modern administration. A State of an income of say three lakhs cannot maintain a Legislature, a High Court, a University, nor can it have an efficient police administration and so on. Some of the Princes are, therefore, thinking of some sort of grouping the smaller States into such administrative units as to be able to provide the people with amenities of civic life. In April, 1943, however, the Crown representative announced a scheme that some small states in Kathiawar comprising a total area of 7000 sq. miles with a population of over 8 lakhs and an annual revenue of Rs 70 lakhs be joined with the States of Baroda and Nawanagar and put it into effect immediately, the necessary legislation to come in due course. In any case whether this merging or grouping is done by the Chamber of Princes or by the Government some such scheme seems to be very essential.

Government. Within these states or local governments there is yet another system of administration which concerns itself with a still narrower field such as a town or a district or a taluka or a village. There are, of course, agents of the central and local governments such as district officers, deputy collectors, city magistrates, tehsildars and the like to carry out the policy of the said governments and to look after the general welfare of the inhabitants of these areas. But for the administration of certain common affairs of the population, these smaller areas have an organised system of self-government which is in the hands of elected representatives of the people with powers to manage these affairs independently of the provincial or the central governments subject only to certain limitations. This system of administration is called local self government. It is, of course, not complete self-government as the provincial governments retain quite a large amount of control over these institutions but the institutions are antonomous to a large extent. They are Municipal Boards which concern themselves with the affairs of urban areas, District Boards, Taluka Boards and Panchayats which have jurisdiction over districts, talukas and villages respectively.

The primary use of these bodies is to relieve the central and the provincial governments of the responsibilities of administration of affairs which are of purely local interest and which, in the very nature of things, can be more efficiently looked after by men

who are affected by them in their day-to-day life. But these local self-governing institutions serve another and much more useful purpose. (They become agencies for the training of citizens in the art of self-government as the best school for training a people in a certain art is the practice of that art.)

The unit of local self-government such as a Municipal Board, a District Board or a panchayat is a miniature of the central government of a State. On a limited scale it performs all the functions of the central government. It raises money by taxation and spends it on works of public welfare; it runs public departments and institutions such as schools and dispensaries; it builds and repairs wells, tanks and roads and performs many other similar functions. These local institutions enable the local citizens to participate in local meetings, take part in elections and to hold responsible offices in their turns. As elected representatives of the people, the members of these bodies are responsible to their electorate whom they can displease at their own cost. They thus gain a sense of public responsibility and ability to cooperate with others and acquire knowledge of public affairs. Through these self-governing institutions people come to know their rights and their duties as citizens. They learn to obey the laws their own representatives make for them and to sacrifice their own personal interest for the sake of collective benefit. In short, they develop a civic sense which is the first requisite of the citizen of a free state. Learning the art of government from these local

institutions the citizens fit themselves for self government in wider spheres.

In India, local self-government has from very ancient times been a striking feature of her administration. As a matter of fact, local self-government in India was much better organised and more effective in ancient times than it has ever been since. It was broad-based on popular will in a way that it had become the very part and parcel of the life of her inhabitants. No wonder, new civilisations have come and gone but the integrity of our village life has remained unaffected. During the Muslim period of Indian history local governing bodies in villages continued to function much in the same way as before.

The advent of the British in India had, at any rate, in the beginning, very disastrous effect on local self-governing institutions. The British organised their administration in a manner that no department of human activity, no locality, however small or remote from the head-quarters, remained unaffected. The administration and dispensation of justice by law courts and in accordance with fixed laws made by the Government was availed of by the people more readily than the old system of panchayats, not because the decisions of the former were always unobjectionable but because the entire machinery of the government was made available to them for giving effect to these decisions. Its laws, although made at the head quarters, first by

the officials and later by legislatures, left practically no room for village or district boards to lay down their own rules for observation by the people of the localities under their jurisdiction. The organisation of its police extended to the smallest village, the official in charge being responsible for prevention of crime as well as for keeping peace and order. Similarly, the Public Works Department looked after roads, wells and irrigation; the Education Department after the education of the people and the Department of Public Health after sanitation and prevention and cure of diseases. The rapid growth of the means of communication facilitated these processes. The inevitable happened, viz., the old village system collapsed. In its place rose gradually the system of local self-government such as we find to-day.

The present system of local self-government in the sense of a representative institution, responsible to a body of electors has been a slow growth and is yet far from perfect. It originated in the presidency towns and gradually extended to rural areas.

The progress was slow and meagre in the beginning. Lord Mayo's Government in their Resolution of 1870 on Provincial Finance, laid the real foundation of Municipal Government. The Resolution pointed out that "Local interest, supervision and character are necessary to success in the management of funds devoted to education, medical, charity and local public works." Lord Mayo added, that the operation of this Resolution in its

full meaning and integrity will afford opportunities of the development of self-government, for strengthening municipal institutions, for the association of natives and Europeans to a greater extent than heretofore in the administration of affairs."

This Resolution gave larger powers to municipalities and introduced the elective principle in the composition of these institutions. The result was that a large number of municipal committees came into existence in urban areas with marked field of activity. For rural areas, however, little or nothing was done beyond the occasional establishment of local funds for local improvements controlled by nominated bodies.

Lord Ripon took the next important step. He discovered that the progress made so far was unreal. "In many places" he observed "services admirably adapted for local management were reserved in the hands of the central administration." His Government after a through enquiry and investigation issued a Resolution in 1882 advocating the development of local self-government "not primarily with a view to improvement in administration but because it was desirable as an instrument of political and popular education."

This Resolution was to apply to rural areas as well as to towns. For the former, there were so far no local boards and the funds reserved for local roads, schools and dispensaries were managed and administered by the District Officer with the advice of a local

consultative committee. This Resolution abolished these committees and made provision for the extension of local self-government in rural areas. In the case of towns and cities it was provided that in no case ought the official members to be more than one third of the total strength. The most important part of the Resolution was the desire expressed by the Governor-General-in-Council to see non-official persons acting, whenever possible, as Chairmen and Vice-Chairmen of these boards, which for a long time remained only a pious wish. The district officer continued to be the chairman in almost all the local boards and by virtue of his official position his voice generally prevailed in every important matter. The result was that there was very little popular and political education in the art of self-government. The internal control of the government through the official chairman, particularly in the rural areas, continued almost unabated. Even in towns the elected boards generally dittoed the views of the official chairman.

In the nineties of the last century, a new element was introduced in the political institutions of the country. With the advent of popular association with the government the policy of nominating to popular bodies representatives of special classes and interests was initiated in order to enable the latter to have the opportunity of making their views known through members of their own communities. The Moham-medan community was particularly named for such

representation. The elections continued to be joint but the Government nominated a few persons in such a manner as would, in its opinion, secure a fair representation of the claims of different classes and communities. In the 1909 Reforms separate representation was conceded to the Mohammedans in the central and provincial legislatures. The local self-governing institutions could not remain unaffected. Separate electorates for Mohammedans had, therefore, to be introduced in the election of members to these bodies and each provincial legislature amended its Municipalities and District Boards Acts from time to time so as to provide separate electorates to Muslims and non-Muslims. In the United Provinces, the Municipalities Act of 1916 and the District Boards Act of 1922 introduced this principle in the election to these bodies.

The next milestone on the road of local self-government was reached when the Montagu Chelmsford Reforms were introduced in the administration of this country. The authors of the Reforms observe: "The unskilled elector can learn to judge first of things near at hand. This is why it is of the utmost importance to the constitutional progress of the country that every effort should be made in local bodies to extend the franchise to all those interested in elections and to develop local committees so that education in citizenship may, as far as possible, be extended that everywhere begun in a practical manner." They laid down as

a definite formula that there should be as far as possible, complete popular control in local bodies and the largest possible independence for them of outside control. The Government of India's Resolution of 16th May, 1918, definitely proposed an elected majority on all boards, election of non-officials as chairmen of all municipal boards and where possible, of rural boards, extension of franchise in such a manner as to make the elected members really representative of the tax-payers and the representatives of minorities by nomination. It laid special stress on fostering village government. When the Government of India Act of 1919 came into force in 1920 under which the department of Local Self-Government was made a transferred subject under the control of a Minister responsible to the legislature, the Minister in almost every province endeavoured to make local bodies self-governing institutions in a real sense, by lowering the franchise, increasing the elected element and by placing executive power in the hands of non-officials. The 1935 Act has left local institutions alone. But the Congress Governments in several provinces made attempts to introduce far-reaching changes in local institutions. The U. P. Government appointed early in 1938 a Committee under the Chairmanship of Mr. A. G. Kher M. L. A. "to examine the structure and working of the existing law and machinery relating to Local Self-Government in all its aspects and make its recommendations thereon.") This Committee submitted its report at about the end of that year. But

the Congress government resigned in the following year and the Report remained only a still birth

Since the transfer of the department of Local Self-government to the care of the popular Ministers responsible to the electorate there has been appreciable improvement in the working of the municipalities and rural self governing institutions. Elections are more keenly fought which means that a sense of civic consciousness is awakening in the citizens. Although due to the wide extension of the franchise election expenses of candidates have considerably gone up and money is very frequently employed in influencing voters and their leaders to vote for particular candidates irrespective of the latter's actual merits, there is no gainsaying the fact that the educative effect of these elections has become immense. The voters realise better than they did ever before that members of local boards are their servants and not masters. They keep a watch on the activities of these members and take them to task whenever they go against their wishes. The members again devote more time to public duties in order to gain or maintain the good will of their constituents with an eye on future elections or on securing higher public offices. They take keener interest in the financial dealings of the boards so that there is no waste of the tax payers' money. They resent undue influences from the local government and their officers in the sphere of their administration. They are eager to provide greater amenities of life to citizens so far as

as finances permit without having resort to fresh taxation. They endeavour to find out the needs and grievances of the public and try to redress them as far as lies in their power. In short, we see that a sense of responsibility and civic consciousness is growing among the people.) The wide franchise has resulted in the return of those members whose public services are considered well worth recognition. With all this it cannot be said that the institution of Local Self-Government has proved as successful and efficient as it should be or as it is in some countries of the west. There are reasons for it. In the first place the co-operation of the general public has been at best half-hearted. The people regard a Municipal or a District Board as a department of the Central or Provincial Government, a part and parcel, an agent of British Government in India. They evade payment of taxes as in their opinion money given to government is money lost. In short, they look upon all the activities of these institutions with a certain amount of mistrust. To make these bodies successful and efficient it is, therefore, necessary that the citizens should regard them as their own. This is possible only when India has attained her political independence. There are other causes also. For instance, the franchise is not low enough to allow all tax-payers to have a vote. The size of a district is so large that the non-official honorary chairman finds it impossible to look after all the details of the administration nor can he remain in constant touch with the

electorate. In the United Provinces, the size of a district is, on an average, 2500 sq. miles. In Madras, it is even larger, viz. 6000 sq. miles, the average area of an English county being 90 sq. miles. Funds at the disposal of local boards are always inadequate. These boards are afraid to raise money by fresh taxation first because such a step will make them unpopular and secondly because the poverty of the people is so appalling that fresh taxation is almost unthinkable. The introduction of communal representation has told upon the efficiency of the boards. Caste prejudices are bad enough but it was hoped that with the growth of civic spirit they would disappear or at any rate abate. But separate electorates for Muslims and non-Muslims have made matters worse. Many questions which are or ought to be treated as purely Indian are discussed and decided on communal lines.

Present Administration.

Local self-government in India is made up of four principal organisations, viz. Presidency Town Corporations, Municipalities in other than the Presidency towns, District Boards and Boards subordinate to District Boards, such as Taluka or Circle Boards and Village Panchayats.

The Corporations of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras have their own specific powers and privileges. The largest number of councillors is 106 in Bombay and the smallest number is 61 in Madras. Almost all the councillors are elected on a wide franchise. A few members

are nominated to represent minorities. Although representation is on geographical lines yet special interests such as trade, commerce and labour are given special representation. In Calcutta, there is communal representation for Mohammedans, the Corporation elects its own Mayor and its Chief Executive Officer. In Madras, the latter is appointed by the Provincial Government. In Bombay also the Chairman is an elected non-official but by a convention he is every time elected in turn from the Hindu, the Muslim, the European and the Parsi communities.

The other municipal bodies are of various sizes and include large towns like Delhi, Cawnpore and Lucknow with populations of several lakhs to small towns with a few thousands. In every municipality, a large majority of members are elected representatives.

The District Boards are for the districts what Municipalities are for towns. The majority of the members of these boards are elected on a franchise which gives the vote to 32 per cent of the population. Separate communal electorates are provided in the Bombay Presidency and in the United Provinces. In other provinces the government nominates representatives of minority communities. The chairman, in almost all the provinces, is generally an elected non-official.

Subordinate to District Boards are local boards and Taluka Boards or Panchayats. These have jurisdiction over parts of the population and area of a district. Panchayats have jurisdiction over villages or groups of

villages. Their primary function is to look after such matters as wells and sanitation but sometimes they are entrusted with the care of roads, management of schools and dispensaries and, in Madras, of village forests and irrigation wells. In some provinces they are authorised to deal with petty civil and criminal cases. Except in the United Provinces, the members are almost everywhere elected. The development of village panchayats as a self-governing village body has been rather slow. They have acquired some footing only in Bengal, Madras and the United Provinces. In these provinces in 1927 there were 1594 panchayats with jurisdiction over a population of nearly $8\frac{1}{2}$ millions

¹ Just as there are no limits to the functions a state has to discharge, there are no limits to the functions a local board may perform. *They are mostly the result of or are determined by history, contemporary needs and the civic ideals of the citizens. Actually they vary from state to state.* In some western countries for instance, town corporations maintain their own police force for the protection of the citizens. In India, this function is the concern of the state itself. Generally speaking, local bodies, whether in India or abroad, are supposed to promote civic welfare and to improve the amenities of life. In India, these functions generally comprise such primary activities as promotion of public health, public convenience and public safety and public instruction which have a most direct, intimate and immediate bearing on

the civic life of the citizen. These functions fall under two heads. Some are compulsory or obligatory, that is to say, which every local board must discharge, others are discretionary or optional which may be undertaken by a board if it so desires and if its funds permit. Among the former may be mentioned (1) construction, repair and maintenance and lighting of public roads, bridges and other thoroughfares; (2) construction and maintenance of public primary schools; (3) of public wells, tanks etc.; (4) securing and removing dangerous buildings; (5) provision of a sufficient supply of pure and wholesome water; (6) regulation of offensive, dangerous or obnoxious trades and professions; (7) dissemination of knowledge regarding such matters as disease by hygiene and sanitation; (8) establishment and management of cattle and other pounds; (9) establishment and maintenance of hospitals, dispensaries, poor-houses, asylums, orphanages, markets, slaughter houses, etc.; (10) Registration of births, deaths and marriages. Among discretionary functions may be mentioned such activities as taking census periodically, construction and maintenance of tramways, railways and other means of locomotion, construction and maintenance of minor irrigation works, provision of means of public education other than schools, such as cinemas, libraries, exhibitions and radio, provision on payment of such services as light, milk etc. etc.

In order to carry out their duties efficiently, the local boards need money. The chief source of their

Finance of Local Boards income is taxation. Local bodies generally levy taxes on circumstance and property which includes land as distinguished from the person of the taxpayer. Certain boards derive profit from enterprising undertakings on commercial scale, such as dairies, tramways, electric supply, which serve the double purpose of helping the citizen and being a source of income to the board. Another source of income is the rent and income from property boards have acquired. In addition to these the boards receive occasionally certain subventions from the Provincial Government for specified purposes. Taxes include octroi, taxes on houses and lands, on professions and trades, tolls on roads and ferries, water rate, lighting, conservancy rates. Other income is made of such items as that received as license fees from sale of drugs, rent of land and houses, fees from educational institutions and fines.

Expenditure of these local boards is an important feature. On certain items it is essential and if there is no corresponding income, means have to be devised for raising it even if it be by raising loans. For instance, there are floods which could not be foreseen. To meet the situation, a board has to spend money. If it has no funds of its own, it must raise them, either by requesting the government to advance it as a free gift or as a loan or by raising a public loan. Expenditure is either recurring or non-recurring; that which takes place every year in the

usual course is recurring and is met from ordinary receipts while non-recurring expenditure, i. e. an expenditure which recurs on rare occasions, is met from capital receipts or from borrowed funds. Expenditure may again be classified as productive and unproductive. A productive expenditure is an outlay which is recouped by the return for the service rendered by such outlay. Non-productive expenditure like the construction of school buildings or hospitals or the like is not as frequent as the other. The items of expenditure by a local board generally include (1) Establishment, (2) Water Works, (3) Education, (4) Public Health, (5) Conservancy, (6) Roads, (7) Public Lighting, (8) Drainage and Sewage, (9) Fire Brigade, (10) Buildings and other measures for public safety, (11) Gardens and open spaces.

Earlier in this chapter we have mentioned that local bodies in India are still very far from being fully autonomous institutions. No doubt, in every modern state in Europe and America the central government retains to itself powers of control and supervision over local bodies for the purpose of uniformity of administration or political needs. But in India, this control is more extensive and pronounced than the actual needs of the Central or of the Provincial Governments warrant. This is explained partly by the fact that local self-government in India is still in the process of growth and is partly the result of certain amount of mistrust on the part of the Central Government.

and Provincial Governments in democratic and popular institutions. There is another reason also. It is believed that the people in India, particularly in suburban areas, have not yet developed that civic consciousness and responsibility which are necessary for the successful running of self-governing institutions. This itself is due to poverty of education, caste distinctions and communal prejudices. As local self-government is a provincial subject it is the Provincial Government or the Commissioners of Divisions on its behalf, who exercise these powers of control.

✓ This control is at once legislative, judicial, financial and administrative. It is the provincial government which enacts laws prescribing what the areas of the local bodies shall be, what kinds of activities they shall or shall not undertake and what committees and what officers they shall maintain. Local bodies have very little hand in deciding cases of disputes between private citizens except some petty cases by local panchayats. It is the government's law courts or executive officers who decide such cases. Financial control is the tightest of all controls. As a good deal of the work done by local bodies is of a national character such as education and public health the State gives money grants to these institutions and as a donor wishes to see that that money is well spent and for that reason applies money checks to the power of spending possessed by these bodies. Administrative control is no less stringent. Almost every important activity of a Municipal or a

District Board is subject to supervision or review or to positive control at the hands of the local government.

In the United Provinces, the Local Government has the power of creating, dissolving, defining the limits of jurisdiction of municipalities and other local bodies. It prescribes the number of elected members, determines the proportion of Muslim and non-Muslim members, nominates additional members to represent certain sections or classes of people. It has the power to supercede boards in certain cases and to appoint persons to carry on the administration, to remove members, to entertain appeals in certain cases of dismissals or punishments, to approve or sanction the appointment of executive officials such as secretaries, executive officers and medical and health officers. It has the power to disallow any resolution passed by a board in certain cases. It sanctions or approves the budgets of specified boards and it has the power to approve or reject taxation proposals and the like. The boards have to supply any information or submit any returns or statements whenever asked to do so by the Government. Lastly, in emergent cases even the District Magistrate can impose his instructions on the boards.

CHAPTER X (A).

(B) LOCAL SELF GOVERNMENT AT WORK IN U P

So far, we have dealt with the growth of local self-governing bodies in India and indicated in brief their functions, finances, composition and constitution. To enable the student to know how these institutions carry on their day to day practical work we propose to give here the actual details of administration thereof. In the United Provinces, these institutions are of the following descriptions, viz. the District Boards, the Municipal Boards, the Village Panchayats, the Town Areas and the Notified Area Committees. We treat the District Boards in larger details than other bodies as in the case of the latter the procedure on many points is practically the same as in the case of District Boards.

(i) District Boards

The District Board administration in the United Provinces is governed by the United Provinces District Boards Act of 1922 as amended by subsequent Acts. It came into force on 1st February, 1923

A District Board in the United Provinces consists of a Chairman, elected members and nominated members. The number of elected members is not less than 15 and not more than

*Constitution of
the Boards.*

40 as prescribed in the rules made by the Government. Nominated members are not more than three. One of them is selected from among the depressed and backward classes, one is a representative of a class in the rural areas which has remained unrepresented after the general election and the third is a woman.

Out of the total number of elected members, the proportion of the representatives of the Muslim electorate is according to the following scale :

- | | | |
|-----|---|------------------------------------|
| (a) | If the Muslim population of the area is less than 1% | 10%. |
| (b) | If the Muslim population of the area is not less than 1% but less than 5% | 15%. |
| (c) | If the Muslim population of the area is not less than 5% but less than 15% | 25% |
| (d) | If the Muslim population of the area is not less than 15% but less than 30% | ... 30%. |
| (e) | If the Muslim population of the area is not less than 30% | Proportionately to the population. |

The following persons if not subject to any dis-
 Qualifications of qualification mentioned further on
 electors. are entitled to be called electors.

(1) (a) In areas outside the hill patris of Kumaun every owner of land which is assessed to land revenue amounting to not less than Rs. 25 per annum and every member of an undivided family whose name is entered as owner in the land records,

provided his proportionate share of the land revenue assessed amounts to not less than Rs. 25 per annum.

(b) In the hill patris of Kumaun every owner of a fee-simple estate and every person who is assessed to the payment of land revenue or cesses of any amount, and every Khaikar.

(2) (a) In all areas in addition to the persons qualified as above every permanent tenure holder of fixed rate tenant in the Agra Province and every under-proprietor or occupancy tenant in Oudh who is liable to pay as such not less than Rs. 25 per annum in respect of land within the rural area, and

(b) Every tenant who holds land as such in the rural area in respect of which rent of not less than Rs. 30 per annum is payable, and

(c) Every person ordinarily residing in the rural area who is assessed to income tax or any other local tax, and

(d) Every person who is assessed to a tax on circumstance and property and

(e) Every person ordinarily residing in the rural area who is a matriculate or has passed the School Leaving Certificate examination or the Vernacular Middle examination or an examination recognized by the local government as equivalent thereto or an examination of proficiency in Indian vernaculars or classical languages recognized by any Indian university or by the local government or possesses the vernacular final or the vernacular upper primary (IV) standard certificate.

A person, notwithstanding that he is otherwise qualified, is not entitled to be an elector if he

- Disqualifications
- (a) has not attained the age of 21 years, or
 - (b) is not a British subject, or
 - (c) has been adjudged by a competent court to be of unsound mind, or
 - (d) is an undischarged insolvent, or
 - (e) has been sentenced under certain sections of of the Indian Penal Code to imprisonment for a term exceeding six months or to transportation for an offence or convicted by a criminal court of an offence which is declared by the Local Government to imply such moral turpitude as to unfit him to be an elector or ordered to find security for good behaviour in consequence of proceedings taken under section 109 or section 110 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, such sentence or order not having subsequently been reversed or remitted or the offender pardoned, provided that he is not disqualified on this ground if more than 5 years have elapsed since the expiry of the term of the sentence or order, or

(g) is in arrears in the payment of certain government dues.

Every person enrolled as an elector in the general electoral roll is qualified for election in any circle in the tehsil which includes the circle in which his name is enrolled; and every person enrolled in the Muslim electoral roll is

Qualification of candidates

qualified for election in any constituency the whole or a portion of which lies in the tehsil which includes the circle in which his name is enrolled. Provided that no person whose name is enrolled in a Muslim electoral roll is qualified for election by the general electorate and no person whose name is enrolled in a general roll is qualified for election by Muslim electorate.

No person is qualified for election as a member of the Board who

Disqualifications of a candidate.

(a) has been dismissed from government service and is debarred from re employment therein, or

(b) is debarred from practising as a legal practitioner by order of any competent authority.

The disqualifications under (a) and (b) are subject to withdrawal by the Local Government or other authorities

(c) holds any place of profit in the gift, disposal, pay or service of the board, or

(d) has been guilty of a corrupt practice, or

(e) is a government servant, or

(f) holds directly or indirectly or by a partner, any share or interest in any contract or employment with, by or on behalf of the board, or

(g) is unable to read or write either English or one of the vernaculars of the province.

(1) Each tehsil is divided into as many circles as there are members to be elected by the general

The constitu-
encies and the
method of
voting.

electorate.

electorate in the tehsil. Each circle forms a single constituency for the election of one member by the general

(2) The local area of each constituency for the election of Muslim representatives is prescribed by an order of the Local Government.

(3) Each elector has only one vote.

Two separate electoral rolls for each circle are prepared viz, (i) General electoral roll showing all qualified Non-Muslim electors and (ii) a Muslim electoral roll showing all qualified Muslim electors.

No person is disqualified on the ground of sex for being an elector or candidate for election.

The election of any person as a member of a board can be questioned by means of an election petition on the ground of

(1) Corrupt practice;

(2) Improper rejection or admission of votes or any other lawful ground

Such an election petition is heard by the District Judge of the constituency concerned unless some other person or tribunal is appointed by the Local Government.

The term of office of a member is usually three years from the date of his election or nomination.

The Local Government may remove from the board

Removal of any member who
members.

(a) has absented himself from three consecutive meetings without explaining such absence to the satisfaction of the board

(b) is or becomes subject to any disqualification mentioned before.

(c) has any share or interest in any contract or employment with or on behalf of the board, or

(d) has so flagrantly abused in any manner his position as a member as to render his continuance as a member detrimental to public interest

(1) Any member of the board and any person
Chairman of qualified to be elected as a member,
the Board. not being a chairman, member, or officer or servant of a municipal board or a government servant, and being sufficiently educated to render beyond question his ability to read and write English or one of the vernaculars of the province is eligible for election as chairman.

Provided that a government treasurer is not deemed to be a government servant for purposes of office.

Provided also that in case of doubt about the educational qualification the decision of government is final.

(2) When a board is completed after general election it elects its own chairman provided that if a board fails so to elect its own chairman the Local Government nominates a chairman for that board

either from among the persons whose names were duly proposed for chairmanship in the board's meeting or the elected members of the board

The following powers, duties and functions of a board are generally exercised and performed or discharged by the chairman of the board, namely:

Functions and
duties of the
Chairman

(a) The determination in accordance with any regulation in this behalf of questions arising in respect of the service, leave, pay, privileges and allowances of servants of the board.

(b) The submission to the Commissioner and the District Magistrate of statements, accounts, reports or copies of documents and of copies of resolutions passed by a board or by a committee of a board and the submission to the Commissioner of certain proposal and objections.

(c) Unless prevented by reasonable cause the chairman convenes and presides at all meetings of the board and otherwise controls the transaction of business at all meetings of the board.

(d) Convenes and presides at meetings of the Finance Committee of the board

(e) When for reasonable cause unable to preside at a meeting of the Finance Committee and when its members do not include a vice-chairman of the board nominates one of the said members as its chairman for that particular meeting.

(f) Watches over the financial and superintends

the executive administration of the board, and brings to the notice of the board any defect therein and

(g) performs such other duties as are required of or imposed on him under the District Boards Act.

(1) Every board has a Vice-Chairman or a Vice-Chairman's senior and a junior Vice-Chairman duties. elected by it as occasion arises from its members by special resolutions.

(2) The term of office of a Vice Chairman of either description is one year from the date of his election or the residue of his term of office as a member of the board whichever is less; but he is, if otherwise qualified, eligible for re election on the expiry of such term.

A Vice Chairman (a) in the absence of a chairman presides at and regulates the meetings of the board, unless prevented from reasonable cause by doing so and performs all the duties and exercises all the powers of the chairman when presiding at a meeting.

(b) During the vacancy in the office of a chairman or in case of urgent necessity during the temporary absence or incapacity of the chairman performs any other duty or exercises any other power of the chairman.

(c) At any time performs any duty and exercises when occasion arises any power delegated to him by the chairman.

(d) If he is a member of the Finance Committee presides in the absence of the Chairman at the meetings of the committee.

When there are two Vice-Chairmen the duties and powers specified in clauses (a) and (b) above are performed and may be exercised by the Senior Vice-Chairman and in his absence by the Junior Vice-Chairman, and duties and powers specified in clause (c) by whichever Vice Chairman is named in the order of delegation and those in clause (d) by the Vice-Chairman who is a member of the Finance Committee, or, where both Vice-Chairmen are members of that Committee by the Senior Vice-Chairman and in his absence by the Junior Vice-Chairman.

The Civil Surgeon in the district, the Executive Engineer of the division, the Inspector or Inspectress of Schools of a circle and any other government officer specially authorised by the Local Government in this behalf is with the permission of the Chairman, entitled to attend any meeting of the board and to address the board on any matter affecting his department.

There is a Finance Committee whose function is to prepare the budget and to regulate income and expenditure in accordance with the same. It consists of the Chairman of the Board for the time being ex-officio and six other members who are appointed by the board by a special resolution. The Secretary of the Board is the Secretary of the Committee. The board may, by a special resolution, appoint non-members to this or any other committee provided the number of such non-members

Right of certain
officers to attend
and speak at
meetings

Engineer of the division, the Inspector
or Inspectress of Schools of a circle
and any other government officer

to prepare the budget and to regulate
income and expenditure in accordance

with the same. It consists of the Chairman of the
Board for the time being ex-officio and six other
members who are appointed by the board by a special
resolution. The Secretary of the Board is the Secre-
tary of the Committee. The board may, by a special
resolution, appoint non-members to this or any other
committee provided the number of such non-members

does not exceed one-third of the total number of members.

(1) Members of the board elected by the general electorate in each tehsil together with the member if any, elected for Muslim constituency included in the tehsil, and any other person appointed by the board constitute a committee (called Tehsil Committee) to assist the board in the administration of the affairs of the tehsil and have such powers and perform such duties as may be delegated to them by the board. (2) The board allots to the Tehsil Committees such funds as may be necessary to enable them to carry out the duties entrusted to them. (3) With the sanction of the Local Government two or more Tehsil Committees may be combined as a single committee to exercise the powers of a Tehsil Committee over the tehsils which the members represent.

There is an Education Committee consisting of 12 members of which 8 are members of the board elected by the board and 4 non-members. Out of the latter not more than two may be government servants in the Education Department other than members of inspecting staff of that department. The other four are appointed by the board in accordance with rules made by the government. The committee elects its own chairman from among its members, provided he is not a salaried officer of the government. A vice-chairman is similarly

elected but his term of office is only one year. The Deputy Inspector of Schools is the secretary of this committee. The Inspector or Inspectress of Schools of the circle and any other government officer authorised in this behalf by the local government is entitled to attend any meeting of the Education Committee or to address the committee on any matter affecting the department. The board has the authority to dissolve an Education Committee by a special resolution approved by the Government if, in its opinion, the committee is guilty of persistent default in the performance of its duties.

Every board by a special resolution appoints a Secretary.	Secretary who is a whole time salaried officer.
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Every Board has to make reasonable provision within the district for the following Duties of the Board.	(i) Compulsory matters:— Functions.
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(a) the construction, repair and maintenance of public roads and bridges and generally the improvement of communications;

(b) the planting and preservation of trees on the sides of public roads and on other public grounds;

(c) the establishment, management, maintenance and visiting of hospitals, dispensaries, poor-houses, asylums, orphanages, veterinary hospitals, markets, shopping houses, inspection houses, public parks and gardens, and other public institutions and the cons-

truction and repair of all buildings connected with these institutions;

(d) the construction and repair of schools, houses and all appurtenant buildings, the establishment, management and maintenance of schools and libraries either wholly or by means of grants-in-aid, the inspection of schools, the training of teachers and the establishment of scholarships,

(e) The construction and repair of public wells, tanks, water works, canals, embankments and drainage works and the supply of water from them and from other sources;

(f) securing or removing dangerous buildings or places;

(g) The construction, repair and maintenance of famine preventive works, the establishment and maintenance of relief works and relief houses and the adoption of such other measures of relief in time of famine and scarcity as may be considered necessary;

(h) The establishment and management of pounds including, where the Cattle Trespass Act, 1871, is in force, such functions of the Local Government and the District Magistrate under the Cattle Trespass Act, 1871, as may be transferred to the Board by the Local Government;

(i) The management of such public ferries as may be entrusted to its charge,

(j) The regulation of encamping grounds and where the Sarais, Act, 1867 is in force, of sarais and

paraos, including such functions of the District Magistrate under that Act as the Local Government may direct.

(l) The institution, holding and management of fairs, agricultural shows and industrial exhibitions, the breeding and the medical treatment of cattle, horses and other animals and all measures tending to the improvement and assistance of agriculture and industries;

(i) The management of any public or private charities or trusts placed by the order or with the consent of the Local Government under the board;

(m) Public vaccination, sanitation and prevention of disease;

(n) Providing a sufficient supply of pure and wholesome water where the health of the inhabitants is endangered by the insufficiency or unwholesomeness of the existing supply, guarding from pollution water used for human consumption and preventing polluted water from being so used;

(o) Maintaining and developing the value of property vested in, or entrusted to the management of, the Board;

(p) Preparing such returns, statements and reports as the Local Government requires the Board to submit;

(q) Regulating offensive, dangerous or obnoxious trades, callings or practices;

(r) The dissemination of knowledge regarding such matters as disease, hygiene, sanitation, agriculture, industries and cattle breeding.

(s) Fulfilling any obligations imposed by law upon it.

(u) Discretionary Functions A Board may make provision within the district for—

(a) Laying out, whether in areas previously built upon or not, new public roads, and acquiring land for that purpose and for the construction of buildings and their compounds to abut on such roads.

(b) Registering births and deaths;

(c) Reclaiming unhealthy localities,

(d) Furthering educational objects by measures other than the establishment and maintenance of schools.

(e) Taking a census and granting rewards for information which may tend to secure the correct registration of vital statistics.

(f) Constructing, subsidising or guaranteeing tramways, railways aerial ropeways or other means of locomotion. Provided that no action is taken under this clause without the previous sanction of the Governor General in Council;

(g) Constructing and maintaining minor irrigation works,

(h) Securing or assisting to secure suitable places for the carrying on of any trade, calling or practice referred to in the clause (b) above

(i) Conserving and preventing injury or contamination to or pollution of rivers and other sources of water supply within its jurisdiction;

(g) The doing of anything whereon expenditure is declared by the Local Government, or by the board with the sanction of the Local Government to be an appropriate charge on the district fund.

With the sanction of the Local Government a district board may impose, alter or abolish the rate of following taxes;—

Taxation. (a) a local rate (b) a tax on persons assessed according to their circumstances and property, provided no tax is imposed on any person whose total taxable income is less than Rs. 200 per annum, the rate of tax does not exceed four pies in the rupee on the total taxable income and that the tax does not exceed such maximum as may be prescribed by rule.

There is for each district a District Fund and all sums received by or on behalf of the board are placed to the credit of this Fund.

District Fund and property. All property such as public buildings constructed or maintained out of the district fund and all land or other property transferred to the board by His Majesty or by gift, sale or otherwise for local public purposes and all public tanks, wells, buildings, materials etc. not being private property and not being maintained or controlled by the government or by a local authority other than the board vest in and belong to the board.

A board may fix and levy school fees, fees for the use of libraries, sarais and paraos, agricultural and

industrial exhibitions and tolls for bridges; similarly a board may impose in any market established maintained or managed by it any one or more of the following fees or tolls:

(a) license fees on brokers, commission agents, weighmen or measurers practising their calling within such market;

(b) tolls on vehicles, pack animals or porters bringing goods for sale into such market;

(c) market fees for the right to expose goods for sale in such market or for the use of any building or structure therein;

(d) fees on the registration of animals sold in such market.

(1) The Finance Committee, in consultation with the chairman and the secretary of the Budget board, prepares, and the chairman lays before the board at the meeting to be held in every year before such date as is fixed by rule in, this behalf, a complete account of its actual and expected receipts and expenditure for the year ending on the thirty-first day of March next following such date, together with a budget estimate of its income and expenditure for the year commencing on the first day of April next following.

(2) The board at the meeting referred to above discusses and then by a special resolution

(a) passes the budget as a whole,

or

(b) modifies the budget by omitting or reducing any particular item or items of expenditure which it may deem fit to omit or reduce,

or

(c) rejects the budget as a whole.

(3) (a) If the board modifies the budget under the provisions of clause (b) of sub-section (2) by omitting or reducing any item or items of expenditure or rejects the budget as a whole under the provisions of clause (c) of sub-section (2), it submits the modified budget or rejected budget as the case may be to the Finance Committee for consideration.

(b) If the Finance Committee accepts as a whole the modification made by the board under the provisions of clause (b) of Sub-Section (2) the budget as modified is deemed to have been passed on the date of board's resolution.

(c) If the budget has been rejected as a whole or if the Finance Committee does not accept as a whole the modifications made by the board, the said committee resubmits to the board either its original or an amended budget.

(d) The Chairman lays such budget or amended budget before the board and the board discusses it and by special resolution either passes it as a whole or rejects it as a whole.

(e) If the board rejects the budget as a whole, the Chairman submits to the Local Government the original budget of the Finance Committee, the amended

budget of the Finance Committee, if any, and the budget as modified by the board, if any, and the Local Government may accept any such budget as a whole or with any such alterations as it may think fit to make or may prepare a budget for the board and the budget as accepted or prepared by the Local Government is deemed to have been passed by the board.

(f) If before such date as may be fixed by rule in this behalf the board has not passed or has not been deemed to have passed the budget and the chairman has not submitted any budget or budgets under the provisions of clause (e) the Local Government may call upon the chairman to furnish such information as it may require and may prepare a budget for the board and such budget is deemed to have been passed by the board.

(4) The board may with the consent of the Finance Committee vary or alter from time to time as circumstances may render desirable a budget passed or deemed to have been passed by the board, and the Local Government may vary or alter a budget deemed to have been passed.

As soon as may be after the first day of October, a revised budget for the year is framed and such revised budget, so far as may be, is subject to all the provisions applicable to a budget. In framing a budget a Finance Committee provides for the maintenance of such minimum closing balance (if any) as the Local Government may, by order, prescribe.

When a budget or revised budget of a board has been approved by the Local Government, the board can not incur any expenditure under any of the heads of the budget, other than a head providing for the refund of taxes, in excess of the amount passed under that head without making provision for such excess by the variation or alteration of the budget.

Where any expenditure under any head providing for the refund of taxes is incurred in excess of the amount approved or sanctioned under that head, provision is made without delay for such expenditure by the variation or alteration of the budget.

(1) The Commissioner or the District Magistrate
External Control. (when he is not a member of the board) may within the limits of his division or district as the case may be

(a) inspect or cause to be inspected any immovable property, used or occupied by a board or education committee or joint committee, or any work in progress under the direction of a board or such committees;

(b) by order in writing call for or inspect a book or document in the possession or under the control of a board or such committee;

(c) By order in writing require a board or such committee to furnish such statements, accounts, reports or copies of documents, relating to the proceedings or duties of the board or committee as he thinks fit to call for; and

(d) Record in writing for the consideration of a board or such committee any observations he thinks proper in regard to the proceedings or duties of the board or committee;

(2) Every officer appointed by the Local Government in this behalf may, within the limits of his jurisdiction, exercise the powers conferred upon the Commissioner or District Magistrate by sub-section (1) in respect of any matters affecting his department, and may inspect or cause to be inspected the administration of a board in respect of such matters.

A work, or institution, constructed or maintained, in whole or part, at the expense of a board, and all registers, books, accounts or documents relating thereto are always open to inspection by such officers as the Local Government appoints in this behalf.

(1) The Commissioner, or the District Magistrate

Power of Commissioner or Magistrate to suspend action under Act.	may, within the limits of his division or district, as the case may be, by order in writing prohibit the execution or further execution of a resolution
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or order passed or made under this or any other enactment by a board or committee of a board, or joint committee if, in his opinion, such resolution or order is of a nature to cause or tend to cause obstruction, annoyance or injury to the public or to any class or body of persons lawfully employed, or danger to human life, health or safety, or a riot or affray, and may prohibit the doing or continuance by any person

of any act, in pursuance or under cover of such resolution or order. Such an order, however, is liable to be modified, confirmed or rescinded by the higher authorities.

(1) In case of emergency, the District Magistrate may provide for the execution of any work or the doing of any act which the board or education committee or joint committee or any other committee of the board is empowered to execute, or do, and the immediate execution or doing of which is, in his opinion, necessary for the safety or protection of the public and may direct that the expense of executing the work or doing the act shall be forthwith paid by the board.

(2) If the expense is not so paid the District Magistrate may make an order directing the person having the custody of the district fund to pay the expense from such fund.

(1) If at any time upon representation made or otherwise it appears to the Local Government that a board or education committee or joint committee or other committee of the board has made default in performing a duty imposed on it by or under this or any other enactment, the Local Government may, by order in writing, fix a period for the performance of that duty.

(2) If that duty is not performed within the period so fixed, the Local Government may appoint the District Magistrate to perform it and may direct that

the expense (if any) of performing the duty be paid, within such time as may be fixed, to the District Magistrate by the board.

(3) If the expense is not so paid the District Magistrate, with the previous sanction of the Local Government, may make an order directing the person having custody of the district fund to pay the expense from such fund.

If, at any time, upon representation made, or otherwise it appears to the Local Government that a board persists in making default in the performance of any duty or duties imposed on it by or under this or any other enactment or in exceeding or abusing its powers the Local Government may after calling for an explanation from the board and considering any objection made by it to action being taken under this section, by an order published with the reasons for making it in the gazette, either dissolve the board or supersede it for a period to be specified in the order.

Power of Local Government to dissolve or supersede boards

otherwise it appears to the Local Government that a board persists in making default in the performance of

(ii) Municipalities.

The Municipal administration in the United Provinces is governed by the U. P. Municipalities Act of 1916 and its subsequent amendments. The Local Government may declare any local area to be a Municipality and declare any municipality having a population of less than 100,000 inhabitants to be a city.

In every municipality there is a municipal board.

Functions of a Municipal Board

The functions of a municipal board in the United Provinces are of two descriptions, *viz.*, compulsory and discretionary. Every board *must* make reasonable provision for (1) lighting public streets and places, (2) watering public streets and places, (3) cleaning public streets, places, drains and abating all public nuisances, (4) regulating offensive, dangerous or obnoxious trades, callings and practices, (5) constructing and maintaining public streets, culverts, markets, drainage and sewerage works and the like, (6) supply of pure and wholesome water, (7) registering births and deaths, (8) a system of public vaccination, (9) maintenance of public hospitals and dispensaries, (10) establishing and maintenance of primary schools and the like. The discretionary functions may include such items as (1) construction and maintenance of public parks, gardens, libraries, museums, lunatic asylums, wells, dharamashalas, rest houses, poor houses, dairies, baths, drinking fountains and other works of public utility, (2) reclaiming unhealthy localities, (3) furthering educational objects by measures other than the maintenance of schools, (4) taking a census, (5) giving relief on occurrence of calamities, such as floods and epidemics, (6) constructing, subsidising or guaranteeing tramways, railroads or other means of locomotion and electric lighting and electric works, (7) holding fairs and exhibitions and the like.

A municipal board is composed of a Chairman

Composition. elected by the members and such number of elected members as the Local Government prescribe, two members nominated by the Local Government, one of whom is selected from among the depressed classes and the other is a representative of any special interest of the municipal area which has remained unrepresented after general election.

For the purpose of election a municipality is usually divided into a number of wards, each ward electing one or more members. The class representation is provided on religious ground, that is, Muslims and Non-Muslims. The number of seats assigned for either classes bears the same proportion to the total number of seats as the population of the class bears to the total population of the municipality, provided that if the population of the class is less than 25% of the total, the representation is increased to 30% and if it is not less than 25% but is less than 38.5%, it is increased to 38.5%.

The following persons form the electorate of a municipal board—(a) every person who is assessed directly to municipal taxes, the aggregate value of which is fixed by rules, (b) who is a graduate of any university, (c) a payer of income-tax, (d) an owner of a house or building of a certain minimum rental value mostly Rs. 3/-, p. m., (e) is in receipt of a certain minimum

income, (f) pays a certain minimum amount of local revenue.

Disqualifications are practically the same as in the case of District Boards.

Every Municipal Board with an income of Rs. 40,000 per annum or over has an Executive Officer, appointed by it by a special resolution and a Medical Officer of Health similarly appointed. The appointment of these officers is, however, subject to the approval of the Local Government. The duties of these two officers are indicated by their designations. They are not members of the board but with the permission of the chairman can take part in the discussions in a meeting of the board. But they cannot vote or make a proposition in such meetings. In municipalities where there is no executive officer, there are one or more secretaries who are appointed by the board subject to the approval of the Commissioner of the division. Similarly, any board may appoint an Engineer, a Water Works Engineer, a Water Works Superintendent, or a qualified overseer to look to special duties.

The procedure of conduct of meetings and the preparation and sanction of budget estimates is the same as in the case of district boards.

A municipal board establishes a number of committees and sub-committees for performing such duties as may be

delegated to them and may establish special committees for special purposes. Usually there is a Finance Committee, an Education Committee a Buildings and Roads Committee, and some others, each consisting of an elected chairman and a number of members for the discharge of functions of certain department of administration.

Just as there is a District Fund in the case of District Boards, there is a Municipal Fund in the case of municipalities to which are credited all sums received as municipal income, such as fines, government grants, taxes and the like

The Municipal
Fund and
property.

The following are the taxes which a municipality may impose for revenue purposes :—

Taxation.

- (i) A tax on the annual value of buildings or lands or both,
- (ii) A tax on trades and callings and vocations including all employment remunerated by salaries or fees,
- (iii) A tax on trades and callings deriving special advantages from or imposing special burdens on municipal services,
- (iv) A tax on vehicles,
- (v) A tax on animals used for riding, driving, draught or burden,
- (vi) A toll on vehicles, animals and laden coolies entering the municipality,

- (vii) An octroi on goods or animals,
- (viii) A tax on circumstances,
- (ix) A water tax,
- (x) Scavenging tax,
- (xi) A tax for the cleaning of latrines and privies,
- (xii) A tax on import or export of goods.

The levying of most of these taxes is subject to various restrictions and to the approval of the Commissioner or of the Local Government.

(iii) Village Panchayats.

Village Panchayats are intended to assist in the administration of civil and criminal justice and also to effect improvements in the sanitation and other common concerns of the residents of villages. In the United Provinces, the administration of the Village Panchayats is governed by the Act of 1920 with subsequent amendments. The jurisdiction of a panchayat is either a single village or a group of several villages. The panchayats consist of panches not less than five and not more than seven according as the District Officer or the Collector may think suitable. They are appointed by the Collector from persons residing within the area of the panchayat's jurisdiction. One of them is appointed as the sarpanch who presides over the panchayat.

As stated above, the functions of a panchayat are to assist the government in the administration of civil and criminal justice.

and to effect improvements in the sanitation and measures of welfare of the village people. Generally they are authorised to handle civil cases relating to moveable and immoveable property when the amount involved does not exceed Rs 25. On the criminal side they handle such cases as of voluntarily causing hurt, minor assaults, thefts of Rs. 10 or less, seizure of cattle and certain offences as breach of rules under Sanitation Act, with certain exceptions such as when the accused is a public servant. They are empowered to inflict fines not exceeding Rs. 10 at a time for certain offences under the Indian Penal Code, not exceeding Rs. 5 under the Cattle Trespass Act, and not exceeding one rupee under the Village Sanitation Act. They have power to inflict a sentence of imprisonment. Certain panchayats are specially empowered by the Local Government to exercise a little higher powers. *There is usually no appeal from any decree or order passed by a panchayat in any suit.* Legal practitioners are not allowed to appear on behalf of any party before panchayats.

Every panchayat is expected to arrange, subject to rules laid down by the government, for the improvement of education, public health and the supply of drinking water and for the maintenance of village tanks and other works of public utility. The panchayats are also expected to assist officers of the government, when called for it, to assist them in the performance of their duties within their circles. The panchayats

must co-operate with the District Boards of their districts when so required for carrying out their duties.

For every panchayat area there is a Village Fund which is subject to certain rules administered by the panchayat for the improvement of the circle and for the well being of the residents thereof. This village fund consists of certain fees levied for the institution of suits, certain fines and compensations paid to the panchayats and of sums contributed by the government, local bodies and private persons.

Every panch is deemed to be a public servant and enjoys all the privileges and is subject to all the responsibilities of a public servant.

The Collector of a district has large powers to control administration of the panchayats. He can call for and inspect the registers and records of any panchayat. He may cancel the jurisdiction of a panchayat with respect to any suit or case; or quash any proceedings of a panchayat at any stage; or cancel any order or decree of a panchayat.

(iv) Town Areas.

In addition to municipalities, district boards, village panchayats there are, in certain provinces, specially in the United Provinces, Town Areas which are administered on the same lines as a municipality or a panchayat. The Local Government may declare any area, except an agricultural village, such as a town, village, suburb, bazar or inhabited place or a union of such

areas to be a town area, for purposes of administration of its local needs as sanitation, supply of drinking water, maintenance of public roads, regulation of offensive callings and of traffic and the like. This area is administered by a Town Committee which consists of a chairman, between five and seven elected members, one representative of the depressed classes appointed by the District Magistrate and in certain cases an additional member from either the Christian or the Parsi or the Sikh community appointed by the government. The term of office of these members is four years and the election is guided by rules similar to those which guide the elections of a municipal board.

For each town area there is a Town Fund to which
 Finance. are credited the produce of any tax imposed by the town committee, all fines realised and all sums ordered by a court, the sale proceeds of all dust, dung or refuse collected by the town servants, such portion of the rent or other proceeds of nazul property as the Local Government directs, sums contributed by any district board and all sums by way of loan or gift and such other sums as may be assigned to it by the local government. This fund is under the control of the town committee and is applied by it to maintenance of public roads, repair and maintenance of public wells and tanks and for provision of an adequate supply of pure drinking water, for carrying out the sanitation, drainage, lighting and improvement of the town area and the like.

The tax imposed by a Town Area Committee is generally the house, the land tax or tax on circumstances and property the value of which varies from district to district and is determined by the amount of taxation assessed by the district board itself.

(v) Notified Areas.

The Local Government by notification may declare that in respect of any local area, other than a municipality town area or agricultural village, it is desirable to make administrative provisions for making provision for amenities of life for the citizens which are usually provided by a municipal board; such a local area is called a Notified Area. The Charbagh quarters in Lucknow is a notified area, for instance. Such notified areas are treated and administered as municipalities in miniature and are subject to the same rules and regulations as if they were municipalities. As is the case of a municipal board, there is a committee consisting of three or four members elected by the citizens or appointed by the Commissioner or partly elected and partly appointed as the Local Government may prescribe. The procedure of administration of these notified areas is the same as that of a municipality.

(vi) Improvement Trusts.

For making provision for the improvement and (or) expansion of towns, the Local Government enacted, in 1919, the U. P. Town Improvement Act. The Act has since been amended on several occasions.

Under this Act the Local Government appoints a Trust for a town which or a part of which needs, in its opinion, improvement or expansion or both in case when it finds that the task is beyond the capacity of the Municipal Board of that town. This Trust, with the previous sanction of the Local Government may undertake general improvement schemes or a rebuilding scheme, a rehousing scheme, a street scheme, a development scheme, an expansion scheme and the like. The Trust is empowered to raise money by government grants or by borrowing. When an improvement scheme has been sanctioned by the Local Government, the Local Municipal Board hands over to the Trust that particular area, building, street, square or land and when the Trust has completed its work, that area or building, etc. is handed back to the Board.

A Trust is composed of a Chairman appointed by the Local Government, the Chairman of the Municipal Board concerned, two members elected by the Municipal Board and three other members nominated by the Local Government.

(12) बनिष्ठ लिपिकों को कम से कम 4 महीने का सेवाकालीन प्रशिक्षण दिया जाय। बनिष्ठ सचिवों के कर्मचारियों के लिए ग्रीन्डर कोर्स रखे जायें। इस सम्बन्ध में सगठन एवं मविधि विभाग SIPA के साथ मिलकर एक कार्यक्रम तैयार करें।

(13) विभागीय सचिव को यह देखना चाहिए कि वित्त विभाग, विधि विभाग और नियुक्ति विभाग आदि को अनावश्यक सन्दर्भ नहीं भेजे जाए। वैधानिक मामलों के विभाग को मूल व्यवस्था के आधार पर पुनर्गठित किया जाए।

(14) सेवा नियमों की व्याख्या सामान्यतः नियुक्ति विभाग के सचिव द्वारा की जाय और केवल जटिल मामले ही नियुक्ति विभाग के विशेष सचिव की सम्मति और विशेष स्वीकृति के लिए भेजे जाएँ।

(15) सन्दर्भ विभागों के सचिवों को यह ध्यान रखना चाहिए कि उनके विभाग में कोई मामला 15 दिन से अधिक नहीं रहे और प्रॉब्लम मामलों 7 दिन से अधिक नहीं रहे।

(16) सरकार को एक गृथक समिति नियुक्त करनी चाहिए जो राजस्थान सेवा नियमों (RSR) सामान्य वित्तीय और लब्धा नियमों (G F and A R) तथा विभिन्न प्रक्रिया नियमों की पुनरीक्षा करें और वित्त विभाग से प्राशासनिक विभाग को वित्तीय मामलों में शक्ति हस्तांतरण की सम्भावनाओं का विवेचन करें।

राज्य सरकार ने अपने 20 जनवरी 1972 के आदेश के अनुसार समिति की कुछ सिफारिशों को स्वीकार कर लिया है और तदनुसार रूप व्यवस्था को अपना लिया है तथा वैधानिक मामलों के विभाग की मूल व्यवस्था के आधार पर पुनर्गठित किया है।

मुख्य सचिव पद एवं कार्य

(The Chief Secretary Position & Roll)

राज्य सचिवालय के एक पद सोपान में शीर्ष पर मुख्य सचिव रहता है वह सचिवालय के उचित एवं कुशल कार्य संचालन के लिए उत्तरदायी है। इस पद के महत्त्वपूर्ण दायित्वों की देखते हुए यह अपेक्षा की जाती है, कि एक योग्य, अनुभवी, ईमानदार तथा निष्पक्ष व्यक्ति को इस पद पर नियुक्त किया जायगा ताकि वह सभी अधिकारियों का सम्मान तथा विश्वास प्राप्त कर सके। मुख्य सचिव मुख्यमंत्री का प्रमुख परामर्शदाता है। यह राज्य मंत्रीमण्डल के सचिव के रूप में भी कार्य करता है। मुख्यमंत्री के परामर्शदाता के रूप में वह मंत्रियों के प्रस्तावों के प्राशासनिक कार्यों के परिणामों का विस्तार से निवेदन करता है।

प्राशासनिक गुणों के आधार पर राज्य स्तर के प्राशासन पर अपनी रिपोर्ट में सुझाया है कि प्राधुनिक प्राशासन की चुनौतियों को देखते हुए मुख्य सचिव पद पर ऐसा व्यक्ति नियुक्त होना चाहिए जो अपने दीर्घकालीन अनुभव तथा व्यक्तिगत क्षमता